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To
Dexter Brown

Bro Hamer



Wonder-Working Providence

OF

SIONS SAVIOUR IN NEW-ENGLAND.

1654.



a church gathered at noon in presents of Mr. Francis Powell
 magister & Mr. Willson Mr. Sims Mr. Allen Mr. Taylor Mr. Howells
 Mr. Carter and divers other good & faithfull ministers of Christ who
 led out the weight hand of fellowship in the name of other Churches
 to the persons gathered, namely John Mowfall Edward Johnson Edward
 Conners William Cornet & Kill Richison Samuel Richison and
 Thomas Richison
 Mr. Thomas Carter ordained pastor of the Church of Christ at
 Woodbury in presents of the four named persons Mr. Howells & John
 who led out the weight hand of fellowship to him

1650
 the 25 of 12 m

Choyes of Towne Officers the 25 of 12 m 1650

Selechuse Edward Johnson	James Tompson	Curstable
Edward Conners	Samuell Richison	John Russell
John Mowfall	Ralph Hill	Servants
John Wright		John Knight
Commissioners to Edward Small Casfeld		Roger Johnson
Edward Johnson	Deputy	Selechuse Tompson
Edward Conners	Edward Johnson	
John Mowfall		

The 14 of 6 m
 1642

Mr. Carter Ordained
 the 22 of 9 m

974.402
J 631w

Wonder-Working Providence
OF SIONS SAVIOUR
IN NEW ENGLAND

[By CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON

OF WOBURN, MASSACHUSETTS BAY]

LONDON, 1654

WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND AN INDEX

By WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
GEORGE LIVERMORE,
OF CAMBRIDGE.





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INTRODUCTION.



THE *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour in New-England* is a quaint and authentic narrative of events connected with the settlement of Massachusetts Bay. The author, in his homely way, has sketched a vivid picture of the spirit and temper of the settlers, the trials they underwent, the faith and patience they exhibited, their struggles with the Indians, and the religious disputations they had among themselves. He has given personal sketches of prominent men of the colony; details respecting the planting of towns, and the gathering of churches; statistics of immigration, of population, of the growth of settlements, of the products of agriculture, and of the prices of commodities, that are not furnished by any contemporary writer. We could have consoled ourselves at the loss of his poetry, if he had supplied its place with more of these interesting details.

The work was sent to England soon after its completion; and, without the author's revision, or the superintendence of any person acquainted with New-England localities or history, was

printed in London, in 1654. As might be expected, the work abounds in errors of the press. Proper names and Arabic numerals are lamentably misprinted. The original manuscript is lost, or, it may be, is slumbering unrecognized in some European collection. It is by no means improbable, that, like the missing *Letter-book* of Gov. Bradford, it may yet come to light. Until the original manuscript is found, a revised edition of the *Wonder-working Providence* is not practicable, nor indeed desirable. The errors of the press, in some instances extremely perplexing, are mainly such as require no explanation, and suggest few difficulties to the well-read student of New-England history.

The original impression has become exceedingly rare.¹ To meet the wants of the subscribers for this limited edition, a class of readers who desire to possess the original sources of New-England history, the following plan has been adopted:—

First, To reprint the original edition of 1654, page for page, line for line, retaining all the errors of construction, punctuation, and orthography, so that the reader may feel as if he had the original text before him.

Second, To prepare a minute Index of the work; correcting, as far as is deemed judicious, the misprints of the text; making the orthography of proper names conform to general usage; and not hesitating to change dates and figures, when necessary.

Third, To prepare an Introduction, embodying such facts and suggestions respecting the work and its author, as a careful examination of the subject may furnish.

By this arrangement, the opinions and corrections of the editor are kept distinct from the text of the author, and can be con-

¹ The work, in detached portions, has been reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vols. xii., xiii., xiv., xvii., and xviii., under the supervision of

Mr. James Savage, "with *most* of its errors, and, in some instances, a certain or conjectural correction in the margin." See Mr. Savage's note in Winthrop, i. 84.

sulted or discarded at the reader's option. To correct the obvious errors of the text would be no favor to the student of history; to correct the less palpable errors would deprive the work of all its authority; and to give the text a fair English dress would involve the absurdity of re-writing the entire narrative.

It will be observed that no author's name appears on the title-page; and the Preface, with the initials "T. H.," instead of giving the information sought, only deepens the mystery which surrounds this curious volume. Who T. H. was, is unknown. He does not profess to be the author. The style of composition in the Preface is so unlike that of the work, that they could not have been written by the same person. A first impression might be, that the manuscript was sent to England by Mr. Thomas Hooker, (a character the author is never weary of extolling), with that brief, commendatory introduction. This, however, could not have been the case; for Hooker removed from Cambridge to Connecticut in 1636, and died in 1647, at which period, it will be seen, the book was not written. T. H. might have been a friend in England to whom the manuscript was sent for publication; but more likely he was some person whom the publisher procured to write the Preface.

No one, I think, who carefully examines the book, will hesitate in deciding that the title "A History of New England," &c., was an invention of the publisher, or of some person employed by him. The modest author would never have made such a pretentious titlepage. He did not purpose to write a History of New England. He has not a word to say of the origin and progress of the Plymouth Colony, and the Rhode-Island Plantations, or of the abortive attempts of Popham and Gorges to settle the Province of Maine; and he alludes only in the most casual manner to the Connecticut Colony. His intention was merely to

describe the scenes and events which took place under his own observation, and which illustrated the goodness of God in the settlement of these colonies; or, as he expressed it in the running title, and was constantly repeating it in the text,¹ the *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England*. If he gave the book any title, it was undoubtedly this.

On page 110, we find "The Authors end in naming some few [of the deputies to the General Court] is for none other end but to make good *the title of this Book*, & to encourage all the servants of *Christ* for time to come wholly to rely upon him, when they go about any difficult work, which may tend to the glory of his Name. Who could have told these men, being scattered abroad throughout the Island of Great *Brittaine*, they should meete on a Wilder nesse nine hundered Leagues remote, and there keep Court together to study the preservation of *Christs* poore scattered flockes?"

The *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour* is evidently what he alluded to above as "the title of this Book." By this name it has always been quoted, and will ever be known. I have therefore, without hesitation, discarded, in my preliminary title, what I consider to have been the invention of "Mr. Nath: Brooke, at the Angel in Cornhill," and have restored the author's title.²

Five years later, we find the same publisher issuing the remainder of the sheets of *Wonder-working Providence*, left on his hands, with an entirely different titlepage and preface, in both

¹ See *Wonder-working Providence*, pp. 32, 65, 108, 106,* 128, 162, 166, 170, 217, 227, where the expression is used.

² Of the two quotations from the Psalms of David upon the titlepage, the first reference, "Psal. 107. 24," is a misprint for Psal. 107. 42, and may have been copied from Coverdale's, the Bishop's, the Genevan, or King James's version; for the verse is the

same in all. The second quotation, "Psal. 111. 2." is from neither of these, nor yet from Wiclif's version. It is a compound of the phraseology in the Genevan and King James's. From the early prejudice of the Puritans against King James's version, we should expect to find that these verses were from the Genevan, the version which the author usually quoted.

of which Sir Ferdinando Gorges is declared to be the author. A more monstrous attempt at deception than this was never perpetrated in early or modern times. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was never in America. He was a High-churchman, a sturdy adherent of the Stuart dynasty, a persecutor of the Puritans, and a life-long enemy of the Massachusetts Colony. That such a man should have written *Wonder-working Providence* is a greater wonder than any thing recorded in the book. New-England history, nevertheless, abounds in references to the book as the production of Gorges. So judicious a writer as Dr. John Eliot, in his "Biographical Dictionary of New England," quotes, in his life of Gorges, this forged title as a genuine work of Sir Ferdinando, and concludes thus: "This is a curious and scarce book. "Hutchinson and Belknap have made great use of it."¹ This incident, however, is but one of the historical infelicities in which the Gorges family are involved in connection with *Wonder-working Providence*, which will be fully discussed, when, in another place, I come to speak of the "Gorges Tracts."

Who was the author of *Wonder-working Providence*? I am inclined to believe, that Brooke, the publisher, did not know the name of the author; and this circumstance favored, if it did not suggest, the liberties taken with it. If the original manuscript had a titlepage and preface, and these had been preserved, they would probably have thrown no light on the question of authorship. It will be seen hereafter, that the author intended to suppress his name.

For more than two hundred years, tradition has assigned the authorship of *Wonder-working Providence* to CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON, of Woburn, Massachusetts Bay, who came over with Winthrop in 1630; returned soon after to England, and came over

¹ Graham (History of the United States, i. 232) quotes from the book as being Gorges's, and states that there is a copy in the Redcross-street Library of London.

again with his family in 1636; resided in Charlestown till 1642, when he engaged in the settlement of the town of Woburn, and took so prominent a part in the enterprise that he is justly termed the "Father of the Town." Here he abode until his death, in 1672, devoting himself exclusively to public duties, both in the town that he had founded, and in the General Court of the Colony, of which, for nearly thirty years, he was an influential and most useful member.

This tradition has rested chiefly on the following statement of Mr. Thomas Prince, contained in the Preface of his "Chronology of New England," 1736, p. 1:—

"When I went to *England* [in 1709], I met with a great Variety of Books and Pamphlets, too many here to name, relating to this Country, wrote in ancient Times, and which I could not meet with on this Side the *Atlantick*. Among others, a *History of NEW ENGLAND from 1628 to 1651*, Printed in Quarto *London* 1654. I found many Particulars, of the Beginning of our several Churches, Towns and Colonies, which appear in no other writer. The *running Title* of the Book is *Wonder-working Providence, &c.*: and in the genuine Title-Page, no Author is named. Some of the Books were faced with a false Title-Page; wherein the Work is wrongly assigned to Sir *F. Gorges*: But the true Author was Mr. *Johnson* of *Woburn* in *New England*, as the late Judge *Sewall* assur'd me, as of a Thing familiarly known among the Fathers of the *Massachusetts Colony*."

A statement so explicit as this, made by the father of New-England history, is entitled to the greatest respect, and, in the absence of conflicting testimony, might be deemed conclusive. As Mr. Prince received this information from Judge Sewall in August, 1728, the Judge doubtless meant by the "Fathers of the Massachusetts Colony" those whom he knew in his early life, and subsequent to the death of Captain Johnson. I have found no evidence that Captain Johnson ever acknowledged himself the author of the book; that he complained of its being ascribed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges; or that his name was in

any way connected with it during his lifetime. He lived eighteen years after its publication, and during the whole period was in the public service, and in intimate relations with the leading men of the colony. It is probable, therefore, that he intended the authorship should remain a secret; and, sharing it only with his favorite son Major William Johnson, they kept the secret well.

At the session of the General Court held 15th May, 1672, the first meeting after the death of Captain Johnson, it was ordered,

“ That Major Willjam Hathorne & Major Eliazer Lufher make dilligent
 “ inquiry in the severall parts of this jurifdiction concerning any thing of mo-
 “ ment that haue past, and in particuler of what hath binn collected by Mr
 “ John Winthrop, Sen. Mr Tho. Dudley, Mr John Wilson, Sen. Capt. Edw.
 “ Johnson, or any other, that so, matter being prepared, some meete person
 “ may be appointed by this Court to put the same into forme, that so, after
 “ pervfall of the same, it may be put to presse.” (Mass. Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2.
 515.)

This Order must have been suggested by the death of Captain Johnson (which occurred twenty-two days before), and with a knowledge that he had collected historical materials. The three other persons mentioned had died previously,—Winthrop in 1649, Dudley in 1653, and Wilson in 1667. It cannot be inferred from the Order, that it was then known that Johnson had written *Wonder-working Providence*. The four persons were mentioned as collectors, and not as authors. Winthrop’s Journal, and Dudley’s Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, had not been printed. What Wilson had collected or written is not known. Johnson (p. 112*) speaks of him as one “who had treasured up heaps “of experimental goodnesse of God towards his people,” which was Johnson’s mode of saying that he had collected materials for a history, or *Wonder-working Providence*. Wilson’s

collections have never been printed, and are doubtless lost. The Order, however, is worthy of notice, as it was the first action of the General Court to collect and preserve the early annals of the colony; and it resulted, a few years later, in Mr. William Hubbard's "General History of New England to 1680." Hubbard made free use of *Wonder-working Providence*; but in no instance did he quote it by its title, or mention the name of its author.¹

Further historical evidence that Captain Edward Johnson was the author of the book may be thus stated:—

First, The copy of *Wonder-working Providence* in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, has a manuscript note, in the well-known handwriting of Mr. Thomas Prince, giving more in detail the fact already quoted from the Preface of his "Chronological History," which is as follows:—

"Judg Sewall tells me, this Book was known to have been written by
" Captain Johnson of Woburn, Father to the Hon^{ble} W^m Johnson
" Esq^r of Woburn, w^o was chosen assistant in 1684 at ye same time wth Judg
" Sewall Himself, and as it was commonly known y^t Capt. Johnson was ye
" author of this Book: so ye judg was intimately acquainted wth his son ye
" assistant, & had conferred wth Him about it.

" This ye Judg tells me this 9 aug. 23, 1728."

Mr. Prince's name is not attached, nor are his initials; but there is no mistaking his chirography. The blank space before

¹ Hubbard made use of the work in this manner. On p. 113 he says:—

" Concerning Mr [Francis] Bright there
" is at this time little known, and therefore
" the less to be said, although one who
" affected him never the better for his Con-
" formity, gives this character of him; that
" he began to hew stones in the mountains
" wherewith to build; but when he saw all
" sorts of stones would not suit in the build-
" ing, as he supposed, he, not unlike Jonah,

" fled from the presence of the Lord. . . .
" The like character is as freely given by the
" same author, bestowed on another clergy-
" man, called Mr [William] Blackstone, who
" on the like occasion, as he saith, betook
" himself to till the ground, . . . retaining
" no symbol of his former profession but a
" canonical coat." The writer alluded to is
the author of *Wonder-working Providence*,
and the quotations are from p. 20.

“Johnson” is in the original, and shows that Prince did not know his Christian name. It may be worthy of notice, as a corroboration of the genuineness of the date, that Aug. 23, 1728, old style, was *Friday*, as Prince indicates by the character ♀.

Second, From the prominence the writer gives to the military affairs of the colony, we might infer that he was a military man; and, among the details he was so fond of recording, expect to find his name. But his intention not to divulge it has already been alluded to. We are able, however, to identify him by the very means he takes to screen himself from sight. On p. 192 he gives a list of the officers of the several military companies of the colony. He says, “The band of Concord led by Capt. “Simon Willard, being a Kentish souldier, as is Capt. Goggin, “. . . the band of Woburn led by another Kentish Captain.” It appears from the Colonial Records, that the commander of the militia company of Woburn was Captain Edward Johnson; and from his Will, on record at East Cambridge, that Captain Johnson came from the county of Kent, England. Why should the writer suppress this name and give the others in full? This was the author’s mode of dealing with himself, throughout the book. Another instance is on p. 186. He says, “The Govern-“ment of the Mattachusets sent two messengers on purpose to per-“fwade them [Gorton and his followers] to come and have their “cause heard.” Three messengers were sent; the third was Edward Johnson (Col. Rec. ii. 44). In the Sketch I shall give of Captain Johnson’s life, it will be seen that many of the events recorded in the book were those in which he acted a prominent part, and in which no allusion is made to himself.

Third, Increase Mather, who was a contemporary of Johnson, knew that he was the author of *Wonder-working Providence*. Dr. Mather probably learned the fact, as Judge Sewall did, after the death of Captain Johnson, from his son, Major William John-

son. In his "Relation of the Troubles in New England by reason of the Indians, from 1614 to 1675," printed at Boston in 1677, Dr. Mather, reciting (in Preface, p. iv.) the authorities he had consulted, says, "as also what Mr Johnson, or Mr Morton (out of Mr. Bradfords manuscript) hath heretofore noted." As he omits the Christian name of Johnson, this might not be deemed conclusive; but on p. 56 he says, "Some (viz. Mr. Gorges and Mr. Johnson) have related that Miantonimo was fet on "by certain vagabond English known by the name of Gortonians." There is now no doubt as to the Mr. Johnson whom he quotes, or as to the edition of *Wonder-working Providence* which he used. He quoted, not from the original edition of 1654, but from the edition of 1659, prefaced by the spurious titlepage invented by Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, in which the authorship is attributed to his grandfather, Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Yet Dr. Mather was not deceived. He saw through the imposition, and correctly ascribes the work to Mr. Johnson. The volume which Dr. Mather possessed was "America Painted to the Life," or the collection commonly called the "Gorges Tracts," to be described at length in another place.

In order, however, to appreciate the evidence now under consideration, it is necessary to anticipate that description so far as to state that the "Gorges Tracts" consist apparently of four separate treatises, with different titles and dates, as follows:—

1. "America Painted to the Life. A True History," &c.: a tract of fifty-one pages, being an account of New England, by Ferdinando Gorges, the younger. Date 1659.

2. "A Briefe Narration," of fifty-seven pages, relating to the attempts of Gorges to settle the Province of Maine, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Date 1658.

3. *Wonder-working Providence* entire, with a forged titlepage and preface. Date 1658.

4. "The History of the Spaniards Proceedings in America," of fifty-two pages, by Ferdinando Gorges, the younger. Date 1659.

The passage from "Mr. Gorges," containing the expression "vagabond English," is found on p. 38 of the first tract; and also on p. 183 of the third tract. I quote in parallel columns both extracts; but invert the order given by Dr. Mather, for the reason that *Wonder-working Providence* was published five years before the Gorges tract appeared.

Wonder-working Providence.

1654. p. 183.

"This confederacy being finished, there came in certain Indian Sachims, and submitted to the English Government, as *Pomham*, and *Soccananocoh* to the *Mattachusetts*; also *Miantonemo* and *Uncas*; but between these two latter Princes arose a very hot quarrel, the English seeking by all means to quench it, but could not, it being, as is supposed, fomented by a small company of *vacabond English*, who were then for their crimes banished from their own complices at Rhode Island, the Ringleader of them being one *Samuel Gorton*, by whose mean they were drawn into damnable errors: These *Gortonists*, as is said, lent *Miantonenemo* a Corflet for safe-guard of his own person."

America Painted to the Life.

1659. pp. 37-38.

"This confederacy being ended, there came in certain *Indian Sachems*, and submitted to the *English* Government, as *Pomham*, *Soccananocoh*, *Miantonemo*, and *Uncas*, but between these Princes arose a very hot quarrell, which the *English* sought all meanes to quench, but could not, it being fomented, as is supposed by some *vagabond English*, who for their crimes were banisht from their complices at *Rhode Island*, the Ringleader being one *Samuel Gorton* the broacher of those heresies before mention'd, these *Gortonists*, as is said lent *Miantonemo* a corfelet for safe-guard of his Person."

Dr. Mather found the statement he quoted in both tracts, and did not perceive that the Gorges tract was a rank plagiarism of *Wonder-working Providence*. That Dr. Mather had a copy of

the "Gorges Tracts," is evident from the fact that the first tract was never published in any other form. The statement of Rich, of Allibone, and other bibliographers (who have copied Rich), that these tracts were published separately, is, I think, erroneous. They have doubtless in modern times been separated and bound singly; but I shall hereafter show that the collection was a unit in design; and shall furnish evidence to indicate what that design was. I will here only remark, that every fact relating to New-England History that Ferdinando Gorges, in his first tract, did not take from his grandfather's "Briefe Narration," he pilfered from *Wonder-working Providence*. He gave in his Preface an elaborate list of French and Spanish authorities, which he did not use, but made no allusion to the work from which he obtained the chief part of his material. Having appropriated portions of the work for his first tract, he stole it bodily for his third tract.

Dr. Mather places "Mr. Gorges" before "Mr. Johnson," because Mr. Gorges's tract preceded Mr. Johnson's in the volume he used. If any further evidence is needed to identify the edition of *Wonder-working Providence* that Mather had, it is found in the statement (in Preface, p. iv.), "I have also perused Sr. *Ferdinando Gorges Narration* of original Undertakings here," which was never printed except in the "Gorges Tracts," 1659, until it was reproduced in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. xxvi., 1837.

Dr. Mather probably found the book in England, and brought it with him when he returned to Massachusetts, in 1661. Copies of both editions were exceedingly scarce in the colony, at even a later date. Mr. Prince, who commenced his search for books relating to the history of New England in 1703, never saw a copy of either edition till he went to England in 1709. From the manner in which he speaks of finding the work there, it is probable he never heard of it till then.

Fourth, Without the testimony of Prince or Mather, the work has ample internal evidence to prove that Capt. Edward Johnson, of Woburn, was its author. From the minute details he gives of the settlement of Woburn, the gathering of the Church, the ordination of Mr. Thomas Carter, the Church Covenant, &c., it is evident that the writer was an interested actor in these events. The early Town Records of Woburn, in Edward Johnson's handwriting (fac-simile specimens of which will be found facing the titlepage of this volume), show that he was the pioneer in the settlement of the town, and the leading actor in the events he describes; that he was the first Town Clerk, the first Chairman of the Selectmen, and the first Deputy to the General Court. The book also minutely describes those wonder-working providences, in which we know, from other sources, he took part; and it also omits, or erroneously states, other incidents which took place during his absence from the colony, from 1631 to 1636. These facts will be developed in the Sketch of his life.

When was *Wonder-working Providence* written?

As we open the book, the first impression is that we have before us a journal, written from time to time, as the dates in the heading indicate; and the phraseology in many places favors this impression. A brief examination, however, assures us that this was not the case. In the introductory portion of the narrative, before he speaks of the arrival of Winthrop and his company, he alludes to facts that occurred at a much later date.

Describing the trials of the sea-voyage (p. 36), he states that children were born on the passage, "among other Sea-borne Cotten, now a young student in the Colledge in Cambridge, being Son to that Famous and Renowned Teacher of *Christ* M. John Cotten." Seaborn Cotton did not enter Harvard College till 1647, and he graduated in 1651.

Under the date of 1637 (p. 111), he says, "Wherefore it will

“not be amisse if our Countrymen [meaning Englishmen] be acquainted with the one and twenty yeares experience of this Wilderneffe worke, in point of Government.” If he intended to date from the arrival of Governor Winthrop in 1630, the date of the period at which he was writing would be 1651. But, if he intended to date from the arrival of Governor Endicott at Salem in 1628, he wrote this passage in 1649. I am inclined to think that he had in mind the settlement at Salem; for (on p. 31) he gives the number of voyages made, and the number of passengers transported to New England “for fiteene years space to the year 1643,” which must be from 1628. On p. 22, under the date of 1630, speaking of the Salem church, he says, “And now let every Eare listen, and every heart admire, and inlarge it self to the astonishment of the whole man at the wonderous worke of the Great Jehovah: That in thrice seven years . . . this poore Church of Christ consisting at their beginning but of seven persons, increased to forty three Churches.” We thus arrive again at the date 1649.

In his verses on Governor Winthrop, under the date of 1631 (p. 48), he concludes with two stanzas which imply that Winthrop was then dead. Winthrop died March 26, 1649.

Under the date of 1647 (p. 208), he says, “our Maritan Towns began to encrease roundly, especially Boston, the which of a poor country village, in twice [misprint for *thrice*] seven years is become like unto a small City, and is in election to be Mayor Town suddainly.” This refers to a petition, presented to the General Court, in the name and behalf of the town of Boston, that it might be made a corporation. The following action was taken upon the petition, June 21, 1650: “It is agreed vppon by the Court that their desire should be graunted, if the articles or tearmes, priuiledges & imunities thereof were so presented as rationally should appeare, respectinge the meane condition of the

“country, fit for the Courte to graunte, provided they present
“theire propositions at the next sessions of this Courte to be con-
“sidered off.” (Col. Rec. iii. 207.)

Captain Johnson, at this time, was a Deputy to the General Court; and, the proposition meeting with a favorable reception, he naturally supposed that the act of incorporation would be consummated at the next Court of Election, in May, 1651. The citizens of Boston probably demurred at the project of giving up their privilege of discussing and determining in open town-meeting all matters of local interest. The proposed draft of a charter seems not to have been presented at the Court of Election; and, for the next one hundred and seventy years, Boston escaped being a “Mayor Town.” The incident, however, fixes the date at which this portion of the work was written, as between June, 1650, and May, 1651. It shows, also, that the dates at the head of the pages must be received with great caution.¹

My conclusion, after having examined the evidence on this point with some care, is, that Captain Johnson commenced writing the book about the year 1649; that he had it on his hands till 1651, adding to, and altering from time to time, what he had already prepared. I have found no incident that seemed to extend his labor upon it to a later date. The result is a great confusion in the order of dates and events.

His account of the town of Charlestown (pp. 39-41) is an

¹ The following are a few of the many other instances of confusion in dates which I have observed:—

On p. 212 (1648) Johnson records the gathering of the second church in Boston. The church was not gathered till June 5, 1650.

On p. 124 (1637) he records the loss of Captain Lamberton's ship, which occurred early in 1646.

On p. 37 (1630) and p. 198 (1645) he

speaks of *Major-General* Edward Gibbons, who was not appointed major-general till May, 1649.

On p. 106* (1636) he says, “It was your [the bishops'] Pithagorian Phylofophy “that caused the King to loose his life, by “persuading him his Kingly power lived “in your Lordly dignity.” Charles I. was beheaded January 30, 1648-9.

instance of this disorder. "And now [1631] the new-come "Souldiers of Christ strengthen themselves in him, and gather a "Church at *Charles-Towne*." He gives a description of the town:—

"It hath a large Market-place neer the water side built round with Houfes, "comly and faire, forth of which there issues two streetes orderly built with "some very faire Houfes, beautified with pleasant Gardens and Orchards, the "whole Towne consists in its extent of about 150. dwelling Houfes. Their "meeting house for Sabbath assembly stands in the Market-place, very comly "built and large, the Officers of this Church are at this day one Pastor, and one "Teacher, one Ruling Elder, and three Deacons, the number of Souls are "about 160. . . . Their Corne Land in Tillage in this Towne is about 1200. "Acres, their great Cattell are about 400. head, Sheepe neare upon 400. as for "their horse you shall hear of them, God willing, when we come to speak of "their Military Discipline."¹

¹ In 1631 there were not, probably, in the entire colony one hundred "great cattle" (goats being termed "small cattle"). The price of cattle from 1630 to 1640 was very high, that of cows ranging from twenty to twenty-five pounds, "it being the common "practice," says Johnson (p. 172), "of those "who had any store of Cattell, to sell every "year a Cow or two, which cloath'd their "backs, fill'd their bellies with more varieties "then the Country of itself afforded, and "put gold and silver in their purses besides." In the spring of 1642, when immigration was checked in consequence of the development of Puritan power in England, the price, says Johnson, "fell of a fuddain in one "week from 22 £. the Cow, to 6, 7, or 8 £. the "Cow at most, in so much that it made all "men admire how it came to pass."

Of sheep there were probably not half so many in the colony in 1631 as Johnson gives to Charlestown alone. On page 84 he says, "As for those who laid out their Estate "upon Sheepe, they speed worst of any at "the beginning (although some have sped

"the best of any now) for untill the Land "be often fed with other Cattell, Sheepe can- "not live; And therefore they never thrived "till these latter dayes: Horse had then not "better success, which made many an hon- "est Gentleman travell a foot for a long "time, and some have even perished with "extreme heate in their travells."

Prince (p. 392, ed. 1826) says there were "no horses in New England in those "days" (1632). Horses were then indeed very scarce; but the statement, if taken literally, is an error. Higginson, writing to his friends at Leicester, September, 1629, says, "We have [at Salem] six or seven "mares and a horse, and do every day expect the coming of half a score mares "more" (Young, *Chronicles of Mass.*, p. 261). Johnson (p. 31) speaks of throwing overboard many of their horses, implying that some were not thrown over, and probably arrived in safety. The horse [company] our author promises to speak of under the head of Military Discipline, was the "very "gallant horse troop" he subsequently men-

Josselyn, in both voyages to New-England, 1638 and 1663, visited Charlestown. In the narrative of his second voyage, he gives a description of the town. Instead of collecting any original statistics, he copies Johnson's literally, thus (p. 164): "There belongs to this town one thousand and two hundred Acres of arable, four hundred head of Cattle, and as many Sheep;" showing that he did not consider them inapplicable to a date twelve years subsequent to the completion of Johnson's book.¹

tioned on p. 193; and as it was the only one in the colony, and quite celebrated in its day, he did not think it necessary to state that it belonged to Charlestown. Several of Captain Johnson's sons lived in Charlestown, and were probably members of this "gallant troop." It appears from an order relating to the division of lands, passed by the town in 1657, that the "troopers" had previously been "exempted for their heads" [poll taxes] in poynt of cuntry rates" (Frothingham's Hist. of Charlestown, p. 151). This mounted company was probably formed about the year 1649, as Johnson speaks of it as "of late lifted."

That twelve hundred acres of corn-land should have been under tillage in the town of Charlestown indicates a date, when the concluding portion of the description was written, as late as 1650. In the spring of 1633, it appears (p. 56) that "the Winters Frost being extracted forth the Earth, they fall to tearing up the Roots and Buhes with their Howes; even such men as scarce ever set hand to labour before, men of good birth and breeding. . . . The chiefest Corne they planted before they had Plowes was *Indian* Graine, whose increafe is very much beyond all other." Again, on p. 120: "And whereas at their first comming it was a rare matter for a man to have foure or five Acres of Corne, now many have four or five score, . . .

"for it was with fore labour that on[e] man could Plant and tend foure Acres of *Indians* Graine, and now with two Oxen hee can Plant and tend 30. . . . Infomuch that Marchandizing being stopped at present, they begin [to] question what to do with their Corne."

Wood (New-Englands Prospeect, 1634), in the rose-colored statement he gives of the prosperity of the Massachusetts Colony, probably over-estimated the number of domestic animals at that date. He says (p. 54), "Can they be very poore, when for foure thousand foules, there are fifteen hundred head of Cattle, besides foure thousand Goates, and Swine innumerable?"

¹ The use which Josselyn made of *Wonder-working Providence* in writing up the narrative of his second voyage, I have never seen noticed. I have made a careful collation of Josselyn's account of the Massachusetts Colony, and find that he took about four-fifths of it directly from Johnson; generally abridging, but in many cases giving Johnson's precise phraseology. He has even copied the obvious misprints of Johnson's text. Josselyn gives rather extensive boundaries to the town of Cambridge, for a writer who has visited the locality twice. He says (p. 165), "It stretcheth from Charles-River to the Southern part of Merrimach-River." This he took from Johnson (p. 61), who says, "The Liberties of this town

It appears as if Johnson, just before completing the work in 1651, added, to the description he had prepared of Charlestown, those new and very interesting particulars as to its condition at

“have been enlarged of late in length, reaching from the most Northerly part of Charles River, to the most Southerly part of Merrimeck River.” “Merrimeck” is an obvious misprint for “Mystic.” Again, Josselyn says (p. 170), “Over against Haverhill lyeth the Town of Malden.” These towns are nearly thirty miles apart, the former being on the Merrimack River, and the latter on the Mystic River. The misprint already noticed may have led Josselyn into this error; but it is more probable that he took it from the heading of Chapter vii. p. 210, where Haverhill and Malden are brought together. Haverhill is there a misprint, or an author’s error, for *Andover*. The chapter has nothing to say about *Haverhill*; that town having been described on pp. 196, 197.

Josselyn (p. 169) says of Hampton, “This Town is like a *Flower-deluce*, having two streets of houses wheeling off from the main body thereof, they have great store of Salt Marshes and Cattle, the land is fertile, but full of Swamps and Rocks.” From Josselyn’s well-known taste for natural history, it would readily be inferred that his *Flower-deluce* comparison was his own invention. It is, however, a literal copy from Johnson (p. 134). Thus, “The form of this Towne, it is like a Flower-deluce, two streets of houses wheeling off from the maine body thereof, the land is fertile, but filled with swamps, and some store of rocks.” “The great store of Salt marsh and Cattle,” Johnson introduced a few lines earlier.

A similar use of Johnson is apparent in his description of nearly every one of the Massachusetts towns.

In compiling his “Chronological Observations of America,” Josselyn made similar use of *Wonder-working Providence*. About nine-tenths of his items relating to the Massachusetts Colony, from 1628 to 1651, are taken from Johnson. For his purpose, a date at the head of the page covered every transaction found beneath it. Hence he fell into many errors. For instance, he gives 1651 as the date of the return to England of Hugh Peters and Mr. Wells [Thomas Welde]; whereas they returned ten years earlier. He found the fact mentioned in Johnson, on p. 224. The date at the head of the page (for which the printer, and not the author, was doubtless responsible) is 1651. But Johnson, in his text, states the fact correctly, thus: they “steered their course for England, so soon as they heard of the chaining up of those biting beasts, who went under the name of spiritual Lords,” alluding to the early action of the Long Parliament, which met in November, 1640, the impeachment of Archbishop Laud and of the Earl of Strafford, the abolishment of the Star Chamber, the High Commission, and the Council of York.

These facts do not necessarily cast discredit upon Josselyn. He must obtain his chronology from some source, and there was no other work extant that had so many and such authentic facts relating to the Massachusetts colony as *Wonder-working Providence*. In his description of towns, however, it seems very strange, with the ample opportunities he possessed of collecting new material, that he should have been so barren in originality, and have copied so literally from Johnson.

that time. If we could see the original manuscript, we should probably find some interlineation, division, or explanation that the printer has not preserved. What has been stated of Charlestown applies equally to his descriptions of Dorchester, Roxbury, Cambridge, Watertown, Hingham, Lynn, Ipswich, Newbury, Concord, Hampton, and Sudbury.

What was Captain Johnson's motive in writing *Wonder-working Providence*, and the circumstances of its publication?

The book was evidently no waif which accident had thrown in the way of a publisher, who printed it without the writer's consent. It was written for a definite object, and for immediate publication. The motive was certainly not pride of authorship, nor a desire for literary reputation; for he withheld from it his name, and suppressed every allusion to his own connection with the events he described. It was written for the information of "our Countrymen." By this expression, which the author often uses, he means not his fellow-colonists, (these he terms "New-England people," p. 217,) but his countrymen in Old England.¹

"There are two sorts of persons in our Native Country . . . namely the "godly Presbyterian party, and the Congregationall sincere servants of *Christ*, "both which the Author could wish . . . would seriously ponder this History. . . . Of the first sort named, I could wish the Reverend Mr *Rutherford*, "Mr *Bayle*, Mr *Rathbone*, Mr *Paget*, Mr *Ball*, &c, would but inform themselves further by the truth of this History" (p. 104). "But to our beloved "brethren in *England*, on the other hand, the Reverend Mr *Burroughs*, Mr " *Goodwin* &c, this seemeth you have apprehended our Churches and civil Government to be too strict in dealing with persons for their full opinions." (p. 105.)²

¹ Speaking of John Norton, he says (p. 73), "The learned labours of this Souldier "of Christ are obvious to our Countrymen, "hee Preaching there," — that is, in Yarmouth, England, as described on pp. 64, 65.

On page 120*, he says, "Many pamphlets "have come from our Countrymen of "late."

² Samuel Rutherford was an eminent Scotch Presbyterian divine, and wrote vari-

Again, he says, "Foure sorts of persons I could with a good will have paid their passage out, and home again to *England*, that they might have been present at this Synod [1637], so that they would have reported the truth of all the passages thereof to their own Colledges at their return" (p. 118*). These expressions, and many similar ones, oft repeated, — "beloved countrey-men" (p. 217), "our English Nation" (p. 22), "our Parkes in England" (p. 56), — indicate the affectionate regard which the author, as well as the colonists at large, entertained for the mother country.

In these days of Alabamas and Shenandoahs, we can hardly appreciate the sensitiveness of the early settlers to public opinion in England. Many of them had there been persecuted for their religion, and some had been driven to these shores; still, England was their mother, and they loved her with filial devotion. Their trials they charged upon a false religious system and bad rulers: England herself could do no wrong. The original settlers at Massachusetts Bay were not, like the Plymouth colonists, fugi-

ous works on Church Government. He was silenced in 1636, and died in 1661.

Robert Baillie, a Presbyterian divine, was born at Glasgow, 1599, and died 1662. He wrote against Episcopacy and the Independents. His collected works, edited by David Laing, were published in Edinburgh, 1841-43. 3 vols., 8°.

William Rathband, a Presbyterian, wrote "A Confutation of the Errors of the Sect called Brownists or Separatists." London: 1644. 4°.

John Paget, a Presbyterian, wrote various works, from 1618 to 1641. One of these is "A Defence of Church Government exercised in Presbyterial, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies." 1641. 4°.

John Ball, a Puritan divine, was born in 1585, and died in 1640. His writings were

numerous; among them, "A Tryall of the New-church Way in New-England and in Old." 1644. 4°.

Jeremiah Burroughs, an eminent Puritan divine, was born in 1599, and died in 1646. He was silenced, and he fled to Holland, but returned after the Puritans came into power. Darling gives a list of eighteen of his publications.

Thomas Goodwin was an Independent Calvinist divine. He lived from 1600 to 1679. In 1634, he was pastor of an Independent Church in Holland. He returned to England, was made President of Magdalen College in 1649, and was ejected at the Restoration. His works, in five folio volumes, were published in 1681. The work Johnson saw was probably "An Anatomy of Independency." 1644. 4°.

tives from persecution. They came voluntarily, an organized company, and with a royal charter, to enjoy a larger freedom in their religious belief than was possible for them in England. Many of them were in nominal communion with the Church of England. When the "Arbella" was lying in the harbor of Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, ready to sail, Governor Winthrop and several of his companions issued an address to "the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England," in which they said, "We esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from which we rise, our dear Mother; and we cannot part from our native country where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes."

Francis Higginson expressed the emotions of a "right New-England man," when, in May, 1629, he called up his family and other passengers of the ship, as the shores of England were fading from their sight, and said:—

"We will not say Farewell Babylon, Farewell Rome! but we will say, Farewell dear England—Farewell the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practice the positive part of the Church reformation, and to propagate the Gospel in America." ¹

William Hooke, "Minister of God's Word in Taunton," in a Sermon entitled "New Englands Teares for Old Englands Feares," preached July 23, 1640, gives a touching tribute of the feeling in the Plymouth colony towards England. "There is no nation that calls us Countrey men but the English. Brethren! Did wee not there draw in our first breath? Did not the Sunne first shine there upon our heads? Did not that Land first beare us, even that pleafant Island, but for sin, I would say, that Garden of the Lord, that Paradise?" (p. 16.)

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, B. iii. p. 74. Sprague's *Annals*, i. p. 8.

A number of disaffected persons had returned to England, some voluntarily and others by banishment, who were zealous in circulating reports adverse to the reputation and interests of the colony. Among these were such busy and malignant characters as Thomas Morton, Sir Christopher Gardiner, and David Ratcliff, who, with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had conspired to defame the colonists, and deprive them of their Charter. The summary proceedings in the case of Samuel Gorton; the Antinomian controversy, and other religious disputes in the colony, had been used to engender a feeling of distrust among its genuine friends in England. The material prosperity of the colony was checked, after the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, by the falling-off of immigration,¹ the derangement of prices, and the high cost of labor.²

While there was much misrepresentation and adverse criticism in England of events that had taken place in the Massachusetts Colony, very little was known of its history and actual condition. White's "Planters Plea," 1630, 88 pp.; Higginson's "New Englands Plantations," 1630, 25 pp.; and Wood's "New Englands Prospekt," 1634, 112 pp., were important tracts, but they hardly touched upon the facts which Johnson purposed to describe. These, with Lechford's "Plain Dealing,"³ 1642, 80 pp.; "Good News from New-England,"⁴ 1648, 24 pp., and a few

¹ For one hundred and sixty years, dating from 1640, more persons left New England than came to it. See Hutchinson, i. preface vii., and Palfrey's N. E. i. preface vii.

² The high cost of labor caused many an enterprise to be abandoned. Johnson says, "An iron work was begun in Brain-tree, and profited the owners little, but rather wasted their stock, which caused some of them to fell away the remainder, the chief reason being the high price of labour, which ordinarily was as much

"more as in England, and in many things treble" (p. 207).

³ A reprint of this valuable tract, with copious notes by Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, is in press.

⁴ Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Soc.'s Collections, xxxi. 195-218. I have not seen the original. Mr. John Carter Brown has the only copy I have heard of in this country. Mr. Rich never saw "Good News," 1648, or he would not have asked, "Is this a reprint of Edward Winslow's book, 1624?"

others,¹ comprised all the printed information respecting the colony accessible to English readers.

The reputation and material interests of the colony obviously required that a full and connected account of the rise, progress, and condition of the Massachusetts plantations should be prepared for the British public. This the modest Town Clerk of Woburn took upon himself (with much hesitation and misgiving we can readily believe) to perform. His lack of literary culture was in a degree compensated by his intimate acquaintance with colonial affairs; and his position as Deputy to the General Court gave him access to the records of the colony.

Captain Johnson's style of writing requires a passing notice. It is evident, that, like a mother's partiality for her sickly child, he thought more of his poetry than of his prose. He imagined that his verses would live when his prosaic narrative was forgotten. "For remembrance of him [Isaac Johnson]," he says (p. 38), "mind this Meeter." Not a worthy could he fitly dispose of without immortalizing him "in rude verse."

Poetry embodies the highest conceptions of human thought; and yet there is a presumption against any person who prints

¹ Unfavorable reports of the colony had been published by Thomas Morton, in "The New English Canaan," Amsterdam, 1637, 188 pp.; and by Samuel Gorton, in "Sim-plicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy," London, 1646, 111 pp. Mr. Thomas Welde's "Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruin of the Antinomians," London, 1644, 86 pp., had given the details of that strange controversy, and of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson's rough treatment. Mr. John Cotton's "Keyes of the kingdom of Heaven," London, 1644, 69 pp.; his "Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England," London, 1645, 125 pp., and several other

publications of his, had exhibited the radical departure of the Massachusetts churches from the English system of church government. "New-Englands First Fruits," 1645, 26 pp.; "The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel," 1647, 25 pp.; and "The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel," 1648, were missionary tracts, showing the progress of the gospel among the Indians. These, with Mr. Nathaniel Warde's "Simple Cobler of Aggawam," 1647, 80 pp., are nearly a complete list of works relating to the Massachusetts Colony which had then been printed.

verses, which can be removed only by positive evidence establishing one of two facts, — either that the verses are good, or that the party committing the offense is in other respects a worthy and sensible person. Johnson's poetry is not good. It is shocking beyond description. It is of the kind which neither gods nor men can abide. It is my good fortune, however, to be able to show, in vindication of our author, that he was a person both worthy and sensible. His motive was good, if his verses were not. Let us, therefore, cordially accede to his request (giving the apologetic clause a literal meaning, which he, of course, did not attach to it) "that no one be offended at the Authors rude Verse, penned "of purpose to keepe in memory the Names of such worthies "as Christ made strong for himselfe, in this unwonted worke of "his" (p. 19).

To inquire how Johnson came by his style of versification raises a question that is curious rather than essential. It might be supposed, from their rudeness, that his poetical effusions in *Wonder-working Providence* were his first attempts in that form of composition. But such was not the fact. It was a vicious practice he had indulged in for nine years, at least, before he wrote this work. Fortunately, but one early specimen has come down to us. The first entry he made in the Woburn Records — under the date of 1640, but written, probably, two years later — was in verse; and its style is, if possible, worse than any thing that appears in *Wonder-working Providence*.

Mr. Samuel F. Haven, the accomplished Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, suggests to me, that he thinks Johnson must have read Barnabe Googe, and formed his style after that model. Having carefully examined the writings of Googe, I must confess that the resemblance does not impress me as it did the critical mind of that learned antiquary. Googe wrote nearly a hundred years before Johnson, and the resem-

blance between them seems to me no greater than between other religious verse-writers of that period. On the point of literary merit, no comparison can be instituted. The following is an extract from "The Popish Kingdom by Thomas Naogeorgus, "englyshed by Barnabe Googe," 1570, 4°, p. 59: —

"We here are called Heritykes, and worthie thought to bee,
 "Of halter, fworde, confuming fire, and ech extremitee.
 "We punisht are, our houfes fealde, or from our countrie farre
 "We banisht be, or else opprest at home with ciuill warre:
 "Whereas the dreadfull Souldiour doth consume, and cleane deuours,
 "The goodes that here hath gotten bene, by toyle and paine of ours.
 "These things these Catholickes attempt, when in so many yeares,
 "By scriptures sure they cannot plant, this foolish fayth of theirs."

The idea of interspersing verses with his narrative was suggested, I think, by his reading "Good News from New England," 1648.¹ That Johnson read "Good News" is evident from several quotations which he makes from that brief tract.

1. Johnson (p. 168) says, "Mr. Henry Dunster is now President of this [Harvard] Colledg, fitted from the Lord for the "work, and by those that have skill that way, reported to be an "*able Proficient* in both Hebrew, Greek, and Latine languages." Having no "skill that way," for he had no knowledge of those languages, Johnson modestly bases his statement on one who had. The author of "Good News," (whose name to this day is unknown,) makes frequent use of Latin phrases, and (p. 216 of reprint) says, "the President being an *able Proficient* in the Tongues. . . . The President is Mr Dunster."

¹ It was no unusual practice with writers of that day. Wood, in his "New Englands Prospect," introduced verses; but I find no evidence that Johnson had read Wood; and no allusion to, nor quotation from, any other tract on New-England.

2. On p. 58, Johnson quotes the complimentary epithets he applies to Thomas Hooker, "the grave, godly and judicious," from "Good News," p. 217.¹ Johnson probably had no personal acquaintance with Thomas Hooker, who came to New-England in 1633, and removed to Connecticut in June, 1636, during the whole of which period Johnson was not in New-England. It was proper, therefore, that he should quote the words of one who seemed to know him.

3. "Good News," p. 217, having alluded to Mr. Hooker's death, which occurred July 7, 1647, mentions "Mr Philips, Mr "Huet and Mr Harver, yet remaining in the united Colonies, of "name and note."² Johnson eulogizes these four names in verse, (p. 222) in the same order, and with the same spelling of John Harvard's name.

4. Johnson quotes an error from "Good News." He notices, (p. 128) under the date of 1637, the arrival of "Mr. William "Tompson, Mr. Edm. Browne, and Mr. *David Frisk*," — a misprint for David Fisk. The person alluded to was Mr. John Fisk, of Wenham, whose arrival, with Mr. John Allin, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Browne, is mentioned on page 117*, but the name is again misprinted *Fish*. Johnson copied the mistake as to his Christian name from "Good News," p. 212, where, in a list of the ministers of the several churches in the colony, and the salaries they each received, the writer gives the name of the minister of Wenham as "Mr. David Fisk," with a salary of twenty

¹ The expression "the judicious Hooker," which properly belonged to Richard Hooker, the celebrated English divine, who died in the year 1600, seemed to descend to Thomas, who was no relative of his. I do not claim that the use of the word "judicious" would identify the quotation; but that the other two epithets, and the order of the three, do identify it.

² It is singular that the three persons named as "yet remaining," after Mr. Hooker's decease, had died several years before: Mr. Geo. Phillips, July 1, 1644; Mr. Ephraim Hewitt, Sept. 4, 1644; Mr. Harvard, Sept. 14, 1638. Could the author have been a New-England man?

pounds.¹ Johnson, when he describes the town of Wenham, (p. 189) gives the name *John Fisk* correctly.²

Mr. Savage, describing "Good News" (Mass. Hist. Col. xxviii. 288), remarks, "It is much in the style of Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*." Another eminent New-England scholar, in a letter to me, says, "The similarity of style between the two works seems to me quite remarkable; so much so, that I once thought Johnson might have written both."

"Good News" was printed and seems to have fallen into the hands of Johnson, about the time he commenced writing his book; and, having had a *penchant* for composing verses, and observing the success with which its author interwove poetry with his narrative, conceived the plan of making his own doggerel perform for him the same good service. This idea, and a few quotations such as have been mentioned, are all, so far as I can ascertain, that he borrowed from "Good News." From this point the dissimilarities are noticeable. The author of the latter

¹ The salary of the minister of Wenham is the smallest on the list. But Mr. Fisk was not dependent on his salary for support. He had married a lady of fortune, and he came to New England with implements for farming and building, and with provisions enough for his support for three years. Johnson alludes to his farming operations on p. 189. "He at first settled down as a planter among them, yet withal he became helpful in preaching the Word unto them."

The list, contained in "Good News," of the salaries paid to the several ministers during the first twenty years of the Massachusetts colony is interesting.

Mr. John Cotton, of Boston, and Mr. Zach. Simms, of Charlestown, stand at the head of the list, each receiving £90. Mr. Knowles, of Watertown; Mr. Welde, of Rox-

bury; and Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley, — had each £80. Mr. Richard Mather, of Dorchester; Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, and Mr. Norton, of Ipswich; Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge; and Mr. Buckley, of Concord, — had each £70. Mr. Norris, of Salem; Mr. Allen, of Charlestown; Mr. Wilson, of Boston; Mr. Peter Hubbard, of Hingham; Mr. Noyes, of Newbury; and Mr. Thomas Carter, of Woburn, — had each £60. The other ministers had smaller sums; the least, with the exception of Mr. Fisk, being that of Mr. Green, of Reading, who had £30.

² Josselyn, in his "Chronological Observations," quotes this error from Johnson, and makes an additional error of one year in the date. He says, "This year [1638] came over Mr Wm. Thompson, Mr Edmund Browne, Mr David Frisk."

writes like a person of some culture and learning; Johnson writes like a carpenter, as he claimed to be, when, on leaving England the second time, he gave his occupation to the "Commissioners for regulating Emigration to the Plantations." Some of the verses in "Good News" are ingenious. The author thus works up the names of the New-England towns:—

- " To raising Townes and Churches new, in Wildernefs they wander,
 " First *Plymouth*, and then *Salem* next, were placed far afunder.
 " *Charles* river where they nextly land, a Towne like name they built,
 " Poore Cottages then populate, with winters wet foone fpilt.
 " Brave *Boston* fuch beginning had, *Dorchester* fo began,
 " *Roxbury* rofe as mean as they, *Cambridge* forth from them ran.
 " *Lin* likewise built, when *Watertowne* first houfes up did reare,
 " Then large-limb'd *Ipswich* brought to eye 'mongft woods and waters cleer.
 " *Hartford*, *New-haven*, *Scituate*, *Sandwich* and *Dover* all,
 " In wilderneffe 'mongft people wilde, there Scituations fall."

In a similar manner he introduces the names of twenty-four other settlements. In natural history the writer was a keen observer. In Spring, —

- " The Codfish, Holybut, and Baffe, do sport the rivers in,
 " And Allewives with their crowding fholes, in every creek do swim,
 " Leaving their spawn in ponds to thrive 'mongft Pikes devouring jawes,
 " That fwallow Trowts, Tench, Roach and Breme into their greedy mawes.
 " Pirch, Shad, and Eeles, there plenty fill the panyard and the pan,
 " Smelts, Lobfters, Crab-fifh, pranes and fhrimps, with cockles, muffels, clams.
 " Plenty of oysters overgrow the flowed lands fo thick,
 " That thoufands loads of lime are turn'd, to lay faft ftone and brick."

Sommer.

- " Befpread with Rofes Sommer 'gins take place with hafty fpeed,
 " Whofe parching heate Strawberries coole doth moderation breed.
 " Ayre darkening fholes of pigeons picke their berries fweet and good,
 " The lovely cherries birds entice to feaft themfelves in woods.

“ The Turkeys, Partridge, Heath-hens and their young ones tracing paffe
 “ The woods and medowes, Achorns eat, and hoppers in the gaffe.
 “ Like *Virgils* knat musketo flies with buzzy humming dare
 “ Assault the stoutest with long trunkes, both blood and blisters reare.”

His description of a New-England Winter, so unlike the mild and humid season of the British Isles, is excellent: —

“ Sharpe, sudded, yet with lightsome looks doth winters cold come in,
 “ With thicke, large Coat doth cloath the earth, both soft, smooth, white
 and trim.
 “ The large tempestuous surges are bound in with frozen band,
 “ Where ship did anker, men doe walke, and carts as on the land.
 “ The Geefe flye prating night and day, to tell the approaching seafon,
 “ Brought downe by gun shot from their flight unto the Indians geson.
 “ The tripping Deer with length of leaps, do burst through frozen snow,
 “ Hunters pursue with bracket shooes, at length they weary grow.
 “ Then down the dogs them sudded draw, expof'd to hunters pleasure,
 “ Their flesh well welcome, and their skins, are chiefe of Indian treasure.”

When I assert that Captain Johnson neither did nor could write such verses as these, I am conscious of not conforming to the practice of some editors who consider it their duty to claim for their authors every species of talent and pre-eminence. I have no ambition to be reckoned among this class of panegyrists, being quite content to state facts, even if they are homely. Captain Johnson's merits do not lie in the direction of literary composition. It is sufficient to claim that he wrote the most important book on the Massachusetts Colony that was printed during the first hundred years after the settlement, that he was a man of action rather than of letters, and took a leading part in the events he described. In a Sketch of his Life, — following a description of “ The Gorges Tracts,” — I hope to make it appear that his

name is entitled to a larger space in the annals of New-England than it has hitherto occupied.¹

The Gorges Tracts.

THE fraudulent use made of *Wonder-working Providence*, in the collection known as the "Gorges Tracts," 1659, has already been alluded to, and demands a more careful examination.

Of the four hundred and forty pages which comprise that volume, two hundred and forty are the original sheets of Johnson's book. Two changes only were made in the work, to enable it to perform the part assigned to it in that strange compilation. The original titlepage and preface were suppressed, and others were substituted. On the former, the authorship was attributed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight; and in the latter an attempt was made to give plausibility to this monstrous imposition. Three of the four tracts have the general title, "America Painted to the Life," and the first and third titles are nearly the same.

The collection has been a puzzle to bibliographers. Mr. Obadiah Rich, to whom we are so much indebted for his bibliography, and notes on early American books, evidently gave considerable attention to these tracts, without coming to a conclusion that was satisfactory to himself. He says, "It is altogether a singular per-

¹ The imprint of *Wonder-working Providence* gives 1654 as the date of publication. It was, however, printed in 1653; and a copy was added to the Thomason collection, now in the British Museum, "nearly four

months before the close of 1653." In that copy the last figure of 1654 is erased, and a 3 is substituted. (Mr. Savage's Gleanings, Mass. Hist. Society's Col. xxviii. 284.)

“formance.” Because the first and fourth tracts bear the date 1659, and the second and third the date 1658, Mr. Rich inferred that the parts were printed separately. The four,—the text of *Wonder-working Providence* excepted,—we shall see, were printed at the same time and for the same purpose. For nearly two hundred years they were not reprinted, nor found in any other form, unless they had been separated by accident, or under a misconception of their nature.

We shall begin to understand the book, when we discover, that, from beginning to end, the compilation is a fraud, deliberately contrived for extorting money from the Massachusetts Colony, by a needy and unprincipled adventurer, by name Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire.

I purpose to set forth the evidence to substantiate this statement; and, for the better understanding of the subject, shall preface the examination with a bibliographical description of the book.

The following are the four titles and the collation. The lines are indicated in the usual manner, and the rubricated words in small capitals:—

TITLE I.

AMERICA | Painted to the Life. | The true | HISTORY | of | The Spaniards
Proceedings in the Conquests of the | *Indians*, and of their Civil Wars among
them- | selves, from COLUMBUS his first Discovery, | to these later Times.
| As also, | OF THE ORIGINAL UNDERTAKINGS OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF |
Plantations into those parts; | With a perfect Relation of our English Discover-
ies, shewing | their Beginning, Progress and Continuance, from the Year |
1628. to 1658. Declaring the Forms of their Govern- | ment, Policies, Religions,
Maners, Customs, Military Disci- | pline, Wars with the *Indians*, the Commodi-
ties of their | Countries, a Description of their Towns and Havens, | the Increase
of their Trading, with the Names of | their Governors and Magistrates. | More
especially, an absolute *Narrative* of the North | parts of *America*, and of the
Discoveries and | Plantations of our English in | VIRGINIA, NEW-ENGLAND, and

BERBADOES. | Publisht by FERDINANDO GORGES, Esq; | A Work now at laft
 expofed for the publick good, to ftir up the Heroick and | Active Spirits of thefe
 times, to benefit their Countrey, and Eternize | their Names by fuch Honorable
 Attempts. | *For the Readers clearer understanding of the Countreys, they are*
lively | defcribed in a compleat and exquisite Map. | Ovid. *Auri ſacra fames*
quid non—— | LONDON. Printed for NATH. BROOK at the Angel in *Cornhil.*
 1659.¹

¹ “The compleat and exquisite Map,” six by eight inches, embracing North and South America, is entitled “*Americae Descrip.*” The names of places are in Latin, and the scale is in German measure. As there is nothing original in the compilation, it is curious to notice where Gorges borrowed or stole its several parts. This is the identical map that was used by Thomas Gage in the second edition of his *West Indies*, 1655.

Besides the map, there is in some copies a folded frontispiece; but different copies have not the same frontispiece, and about half the copies I have seen have none. It appears as if the compiler inserted such pictures as he could obtain, and, when the supply failed, issued the remainder of the edition without any. Rich alludes to one of these frontispieces as follows: “Besides the map, there is a portrait of a young Indian woman, with a human leg in her [left] hand; a folded plate, inscribed

“AMERICA.

“‘Tis I, in tempting diuers, for to try
 “By fundry meanes, t’ obtaine me, caus’ de them dye
 “And, laft difcouer’d, vndifcouer’d am:
 “For, men, to trade my Soyle, as yet, are lame.”

A copy belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society has this frontispiece. The female holds a bow in her right hand; and in the background are four cannibals, roasting a human body upon a frame over a large fire.

Another copy, belonging to the Library of Harvard College, has a different frontispiece. An Indian female, as in the other

print, is seated beneath a tree, holding a bow in her left hand, and an arrow in her right. In the background are three cannibals. One is cutting up a human body; another is roasting a human leg; and the third is drawing his arrow upon a deer. On the left of the female’s head is a parrot and a scroll, with this legend, “*Pavit qui genuit.*” Over the left shoulder of the female is “AMERICA.” Under the print are the following lines:—

“Though to my Sisters long vnknowne I lay
 “I am as rich, and greater farr then they
 “My barbarous rudenes doth at full exprefe
 “What Nature is, till wee haue Graces drefs
 “But when the gloomy shades of Death yet bee
 “The funfhine of Gods love I hope to fec.”

The general idea seems to be the same in both prints. Each figure has a quiver suspended at the right side by a thong passing over the left shoulder. Each has a tiara of feathers upon the head, and a string of beads with a pendant about the neck. Both prints are very creditable specimens of Dutch engraving, and were doubtless used originally in some work on South America.

The copy in the Boston Athenæum, and the one in the possession of Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge, have no frontispiece. Mr. George Brinley, of Hartford, has two copies, one, formerly owned by Mr. Thomas Prince, with the frontispiece described by Mr. Rich, and the other with none. I have seen several other copies without a frontispiece; but they were not in their original

Collation. — Frontispiece folded. Three preliminary leaves (title, reverse blank; “To the Judicious Reader,” signed “Ferdinando Gorges,” 4 pages). Map folded (“Americae Descr.”). Text (running-title, “*A Description of New-England*,” signatures, B–H), 51 pages. On page 51; “Finis;” signature, F 2 [should be H 2]; catchword, “A”; reverse blank.

TITLE II.

A | Briefe Narration | of the | Originall Undertakings | of the | Advance-
ment | of | Plantations | Into the parts of | America. | *Especially*, | Shewing
the beginning, progres | and continuance of that of | New-England. | Written
by the right Worshippfull, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* | Knight and Governour of
the Fort and Island of | *Plymouth* in *Devonshire*. | *London*: | Printed by *E.*
Brudenell, for *Nath. Brook* at the | *Angell* in *Corn-hill*. 1658.

Collation. — One preliminary leaf (title, reverse blank). Text (running-
title, “*A Description of New-England*,” signatures, I–P) 57 pages. On
page 57, “Finis;” no catchword; reverse blank.

TITLE III.

America | Painted to the Life. | A | True History of the originall undertak-
ings of the advancement | of Plantations into those parts, with a perfect relation
of | our *English* Discoveries, shewing their beginning, progres, and | continu-
ance, from the year, 1628. to 1658. declaring the forms of | their Government,
Policies, Religions, Manners, Customes, Military | Discipline, Warres with the
Indians, the Commodities of their | Countries, a Description of their Townes,
and Havens, the increafe | of their trading with the names of their Governours
and Magistrates. | *More* | Especially an absolute Narrative of the North parts
of *America*, and | of the discoveries and plantations of our *English* in | *New-*
England. | Written by Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Knight | and Governour of
the Fort and Island of *Plimouth* in | *Devonshire*, one of the first and cheifest
pro- | moters of those Plantations. | Publisht since his decease, by his Grand-
child *Ferdinando Gorges* Esquire, | who hath much enlarged it and added sev-

condition, as those were which have been mentioned.

The quotation, “*Ovid. Auri sacra fames quid non*——,” which is also on the title-
page of the fourth tract, is not from *Ovid*,

but is from *Virgil* (*Æneid* iii. verses 57, 58).
The correct quotation is, —

“*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames!*”

erall accurate Defcripti- | ons of his owne. | A work now at laft expofed for the
 publick good, to fir up the heroick and active fpirits | of thefe times, to benefit
 their Country, and Eternize their names | by fuch honourable attempts. | For
 the Readers clearer understanding of the Country's they are lively defcribed in a
 | compleat and exquisit Map. | *Vivit poft funera virtus.* | London; Printed by
E. Brudenell, for *Nathaniel Brook* dwelling at | the Angel in *Corn-hill*. 1658.

Collation. — Two preliminary leaves (title, reverse blank, “To the Reader,”
 signed “Ferdinando Gorges,” 2 pages). Text (*Wonder-working Providence*
 complete, the original impression of 1654; signatures, B–H h) 236 pages.
 “Courteous Reader, Thefe Books following are printed for *Nathaniel Brooke*,”
 &c., 4 pages, without folios.

TITLE IV.

America | Painted to the Life. | The | Hiftory | of the | Spaniards Proceed-
 ings in America, their Con- | quefts of the *Indians*, and of their | Civil Wars
 among themfelves. | From | *Columbus* his firft Difcovery, to thefe | later Times.
 | By | *Ferdinando Gorges*, Efq; | Ovid. *Auri sacra fames quid non*— |
 London, Printed by *T. F.* for *Nath. Brook* at the *Angel* in *Cornhil*. 1659.

Collation. — Two preliminary leaves (title, reverse blank; “The Preface,”
 signed “Ferdinando Gorges,” 2 pages.) Text (running-title, “*The History*
of AMERICA, Painted to the Life;” signatures, B–H) 52 pages. On page 52
 are “Finis,” “The Poft-script,” and catchword “The.” Then follows “The
 General Table,” 17 pages, without folios. This is a General Index to the entire
 compilation; but, as each has feperate paging, there is no indication as to which
 one of the four trafts contains the fubject referred to. Three pages, without
 folios, of “*Books lately printed, and in the Prefs now printing*,” conclude
 the compilation.

For convenience of designation, I fhall fpeak of the compila-
 tion as four trafts, although in design and execution the book is
 a unit.

The firft title and preface ferves for the entire compilation, as
 well as for the traft to which it is prefixed. The title is taken

mainly from that prefixed to the third tract; and the portion relating to "the Spaniards Proceedings" is from the title of the fourth tract. The opening sentence of the preface alludes to the second tract.

Ferdinando Gorges, the younger, is the writer of the first tract. In his general preface, he is very careful in mentioning his authorities. First, of course, is "My Grandfather, Lord and chiefe Governour by a Patent from the late King, upon the description "of which Province I have insisted the more largely, as well for "that it hath not been particularly mentioned by others, as for the "peculiar interest I my selfe have in it as legally descending to "me by right of inheritance, nor do I doubt, though my just claim "be unjustly opposed by those of the Matachufets Bay, but when "the matter comes to be decided by a legall hearing, it will be "seriously pondered," &c.

It appears, therefore, that Gorges had a claim against "the Matachufets Bay," which he purposed to bring to a legal decision; and that this book is a part of the case he was working up for the trial. The reader will please carry this fact in mind, as it exhibits the motive of the compiler, and will aid in solving many of the difficulties which abound in the volume.

To the "relation of my Grandfather" he has "added both "out of the choicest Authors as Davity [*sic*], Jean de laet, Anthony Herrera, Oviedo, Francis Ximenes, Champlain Sparbot "and others, . . . as Mr. Edward Godfrey, Mr. Robert Gorges and "others."

Godfrey was one of the persons associated with Sir Ferdinando in his attempts to settle Maine; and Mr. Robert Gorges was the son of Sir Ferdinando, and uncle of the author. Who "Davity" was, or what use was made of the French and Spanish authorities, of Edward Godfrey and Mr. Robert Gorges, in his first tract, is not apparent; but it is very obvious what use he

made of an obscure New-England writer, whose name or whose work he did not mention.¹

One instance of his use of Johnson's work has already been mentioned, on page xi. Page after page can be quoted from his tract, and it can be shown where from Johnson he obtained every fact, incident, and expression. This is not necessary. I will simply show some of the errors and typographical mistakes he appropriated to himself from our author.

1. Johnson (page 133), under the date of 1638, says: "This yeare . . . they began to erect a Colledge, the Lord by his provident hand giving his approbation to the work, in sending over a faithfull and godly fervant of his, the reverend Mr. *John Harverd*, who joyning with the people of Christ at *Charles Towne*, suddenly after departed this life, and gave near a thousand pound toward this work; wherefore the Government thought it meet to call it *Harverd Colledge* in remembrance of him."

Gorges (page 35) makes of this statement the following, and locates the College in *Charlestown*: "About this time (1638) severall well minded people began to erect a Colledge at Charles Town, to which one Mr. John Harverd was very assistant, and at his death gave a thousand pound toward it, whence it was called *Harverd Colledge*."

Again, Johnson (page 165), under the date of 1640, and in a chapter on "The First Promotion of Learning in New-England," alludes to the College, and says, "The chief gift towards the foundation of this Colledg, was by Mr. *John Harnes* [misprint for *John Harverd*], a reverend Minister, the country being very weak in their public Treafury, expended about 500. l. towards it, and for the maintenance thereof, gave the yearly

¹ Some of his statements he took from John Smith's "True Travels," 1630, and others from "Brief Relation," 1622, in Pur-

chas iv. He made use also of his Grandfather's Patent.

“revenue of a Ferry passage between Boston and Charles Town, the which amounts to about 40. or 50. l. per annum.”

F. Gorges, Esquire, was evidently puzzled at this statement. The College first described, located at Charlestown, was founded by Mr. John Harverd, who gave it near a thousand pounds. But here was a College established (as he understood it), two years later, at “New-Town, now named Cambridge,” its chief benefactor being Mr. John Harnes, who gave it only £500, and the revenue of a ferry. This College must certainly be a different institution from the one before mentioned. It was very strange, however, that two colleges should be started in a colony not yet ten years old. Thus must have reasoned the veracious Ferdinando, who read “Davity, de laet, Herrera, Oviedo, Ximenes, Champlain Sparbot,” in their original tongues, as authorities in New-England history.

The difficulty, however, must be grappled with and solved. He inclines to the first hypothesis, that there were two colleges, and makes history as follows:—

“This year [1640] also was laid the foundation of *another* Colledge at New-town, otherwife called Cambridge, being scituated upon a spacious plain, near a fair navigable river, and environed with many neighbouring towns of note, it is at present enlarged by the purchase of neighbour-houfes, having a fair hall, convenient studies, and a good Library;¹ the chiefe Benefactor was one Mr. *John Harnes*, who expended about 500 pound towards it, besides a yearly revenue for the maintenance of a Ferry passage, between Boston and Charlestown.”

2. In a note on page xvii. allusion was made to a typographical mistake which Josselyn took from Johnson. Gorges appropriated to himself the same error, and his book was printed six years before Josselyn's. Johnson's description of the boundaries of Cambridge is noticeable, not only for its typographical error, but

¹ All this description will be found in Johnson, pp. 164-5.

for the quaint comparison introduced, "being in forme," he says (p. 61), "like a list cut off from the Broad-cloath of the two fore-named Towns, . . . reaching from the moft Northerly part of Charles River, to the moft Southerly part of *Merrimeck* [misprint for *Mystic*] River." Gorges (p. 30) works up this information thus: "In forme like a lift of Broad-Cloath, reaching to the moft Southerly part of *Merimeck-River*."

If the error had stopped here, the circumstance would have been less noticeable. John Ogilby, in his illustrated folio entitled "America," 1671, took his account of Cambridge, as well as of other New-England towns, from Gorges, and in it incorporated both the blunders just described. Ogilby's description (p. 160) is as follows:—

"It is in form like a Lift of Broad-cloth, reaching to the moft Southerly part of Merrimeck River: it hath comely and well order'd Streets, and *two* fair Colledges; the first called Harverd Colledge, from Mr John Harverd, who at his death gave a thousand Pounds to it; to the other Mr John Harnes was the chief Benefactor."¹

From Ogilby the errors went into nearly all the general histories that appeared for the next half-century. Richard Blome (History of Jamaica, 1671), in a summary of New-England towns, mentions (p. 182) "Cambridge, formerly called New-Town, feated on the River *Merrimeck*; this town consisteth of several streets, and is beautified with *two* Colledges."

3. Johnson (p. 79) says of Concord, that it "is feated upon a

¹ Ogilby says this town was called by the Indians *Amongcangen*. Where did he obtain this name? Captain John Smith, in the summer of 1614, explored the coast from Penobscot Bay to Cape Cod, and prepared a map of the same, which he subsequently presented to Prince Charles for revision. On this map Captain Smith inserted, as

pleased his fancy, the names of English towns where there were no English settlements. Boston he placed near the mouth of the Merrimack River, and Cambridge some thirty miles from the coast of Maine, on the Androscoggin River. *Amongcangen* is probably an incorrect form of the Indian name of that locality.

“branch of that large river of *Merrimeck Allwives*, and *Shad* in their feason come up to this towne, but *Salmon* and *Daice* cannot come up, by reason of the Rocky falles.” The misplacement of a comma led Gorges astray in his geographical citation; for an *Alewife* was an American fish of which he had never heard. He therefore places the town of Concord “upon a branch of that large river of *Merimeck Allwives*.” Ogilby copied the name of this strange New-England river into his “America,” and it doubtless can be found in other histories.

4. Johnson (p. 172), through another mistake of his printer, makes the extraordinary statement that “for this year 1642, . . . the number of Freemen added was about 1232.” The whole number of admissions during the entire period since the settlement of the colony was but 1292. The error was one likely to be detected by any person at all familiar with New-England history. Immigration at that time was very limited. More persons probably went back, to take sides with Parliament against the King, than came over.¹ This was the kind of error that Gorges would be most likely to steal, and he took it. Johnson, two lines below, spoke of the great fall in the price of cattle, which had “continued at an exceffive price fo long as any came over with estates to purchase them.”²

¹ It is remarkable that Dr. Holmes, in his *Annals* (1805), i. 324; and Williamson, *History of Maine*, ii. 290, should have quoted these figures without a suspicion of their inaccuracy.

² The number of freemen admitted in 1642, who were chiefly, I suppose, the sons of planters arriving at the age of sixteen years (Col. Rec. i. 139), was 138. Mr. Savage (Winthrop ii. 74) makes the number 137. He says, “I have diligently examined the records, and find [the admissions] in “May, 113; in June, 6; in September, 2;

“in December, at Salem, 9; in February, 7 “= 137.” Mr. Savage, however, omitted the name of Willi: Pinchon, who took the oath August 11.

In collating Mr. Savage’s list of freemen, 1642 (App. K, ed. 1826) with the original records of the colony at the State House, I noticed several variations. The two most important — Humphrey Keyne for Humphrey Reynr, and Wm. Lowell for Wm. Lewes — he corrected in his edition of 1853. Still, the original orthography of names is not preserved in Mr. Savage’s later edition. In

5. There is an error in the heading of the chapter on page 87, by which the town of "Sandwicht" is inserted instead of "Dukes-berry," respecting which the chapter treats. Gorges finds the name of the latter town in the description, and, concluding that the names refer to the same locality, appropriates the information as follows: "The 13th Town is in Plimouth Government, scituate upon the Sea-coast first named *Dukes-Bury*, afterward *Sandwich*." Ogilby has the same. The towns of Duxbury and Sandwich are quite as distinct localities as Boston and Springfield. A similar mistake in the heading of the chapter on page 210, where "Haverhill" is inserted instead of Andover, he also appropriates to himself. On page 185, fourth line, the word printed "years" Johnson doubtless wrote "daies." The printed form — which requires Uncas to hold the Narraganset chieftain Miantonemo a prisoner at Hartford several *years* before he put him to death — answers Gorges's purpose, and he copies it. But it is not necessary to multiply these instances of blundering plagiarisms.

The point of objection is not that he copied from *Wonder-working Providence*, or that he copied many of its typographical errors, — for there was no other work extant that gave so full an account of the Massachusetts Colony, and, with his entire ignorance of New-England matters, it was not possible for him to correct its errors, — but the charge is, that, pretending to give his authorities, he suppressed the title of the book (its author he

the list of 1642, Tayler is printed *Taylor*, Stoder is *Stodder*, Leoman is *Looman*, Guil is *Guile*, Pebody is *Peabody*, Ropper is *Roper*, Thackster is *Thaxter*. In his first edition, Mr. Savage very properly omitted in one place the name of John Tomkins, which was inserted twice, and in both places queried. He mistook, however, the query (qu:) for "jun." In the second edition, the name

before rejected is restored, and the two appear as "John Tomkins, senr.," and "John Tomkins, junr." The Christian names, also, when contracted in the Record, are often given in full, and *vice versa*. Mr. Savage's lists are free modernized transcripts, and are not exact copies of the originals.

probably did not know) from which he took nearly every fact that had a direct bearing upon the professed subject of his tract, namely, "A Description of New-England." When the evidence is all before us, we shall see that his omission to mention this work was not an oversight, but was a deliberate fraud. The acknowledgment would have been fatal to the object he had in view in making the compilation. The impression he would make was, that his Grandfather had effected all the creditable deeds that had been wrought in New-England.

The impudence of his concluding paragraph (p. 46) is in harmony with the audacity of his plagiarisms: —

"Thus much I thought fit to publish concerning *New-England*, besides the "relation of all my Grand-Fathers proceedings for the effecting of what he so "long aim'd at, namely the settling plantations in those parts, I have likewise "given a very exact account of the Country, described both the situation, the "temperature of the climate the fertility of the soile, the nature and qualities "of the people, the traffick and commodities the Country affordeth, *in a more "exact and methodicall manner, then hath hitherto been performed by all "others."*¹

It will not be questioned, that the second tract was written, as it purports to be, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It is a valuable contribution to the history of Maine, and worthy of the place it occupies in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (xxvi.), and of the Maine Historical Society (ii.) It is

¹ Mr. William Tudor (North American Review, ii. 291) gave an account of this tract, in which he fell into some very strange errors. The title, which he quoted at length, is not its proper title, but that of the third tract. He speaks of it as having two prefaces, one "by the elder Gorges, as well as "another by his grandson; but how much "of the work was written by the former is

"difficult to discover." He makes extended quotations from it respecting New England, without being aware that what he copied was stolen from *Wonder-working Providence*. He evidently had not in his possession the entire compilation, nor had he given the subject much attention. In the same volume, he noticed "Briefe Narration," and much in the same way.

the only portion of the entire compilation that is not stamped with fraud and misrepresentation.

The tract was probably written shortly before his death, and some forty years after the more important events in the narration occurred. The Grandson says, in the preface of the first tract, that it "was left unfinished." Sir Ferdinando's memory failed him on some points, which have been more minutely described by other writers. One instance is the date of the death of Sir John Popham.¹

The whole titlepage of the tract, however, I do not regard as genuine. He did not propose to himself to write "the Beginning, Progress, and Continuance of the Plantations of New-England," as the term New-England was then used in Great Britain. He wrote simply about his unsuccessful attempts to settle his "Province of Mayne." He knew nothing about the successful plantations of New-England, and did not pretend to that knowledge. As an honest man (as his modern eulogists claim him to be, and which I am not disposed to question), he could not have written the concluding portion of the title prefixed to his tract. He had been dead twelve years when his tract was printed, and, as he left it unfinished, it is by no means clear that he gave it any title. That portion of the title which has been alluded to was evidently written with the design of making the titlepage conform to the

¹ Gorges says that when the vessel, the "Mary and John," Captain Davies (which sailed from Sagadahoc on the 15th of December, 1607), arrived in England, "so soon as it came to the Lord cheife justice hands, he gave out order to the Councill for sending them back with supplies necessary. . . . The supplies being furnished and all things ready onely attending for a faire wind, which hapned not before the news of the chief justice death was posted to them"

(page 9). The concurrent testimony of Popham's biographers is that he died in June, 1607, — Campbell says on the first day of the month, and Foss, on the tenth. It is probable that the order to send back supplies was given by his son, Sir Francis Popham, who, Gorges says (Briefe Narration, p. 10), "could not so give it over, but continued to send thither several years after in hope of better fortunes, but found it fruitles."

running-title, "A Description of New-England," which is a pure fabrication. The running-titles of the first and second tracts are the same; they were printed at the same time, and from the same type, as certain peculiarities of the impression show.¹

We are now to consider the third tract, which is Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*, with the fabricated titlepage already quoted, and the following Preface:—

" TO THE READER.

" I Thought it a part of my duty, in this my briefe Narration of our Plantations to remember the Originall Undertaking of those designes in the parts of America, by such Noble Spirits of our Nation that first attempted it, as well for the justification of the right thereof, properly belonging to Kings of our Nation, before any other Prince or State, as also the better to cleare the claime made thereunto by the Embassadour of France, in the behalfe of his Master, in the yeare 1624. whereto I was required to make answer (as more at large it appeares in the discourse it selfe, withall to leave to posterity the particular wayes by which it hath beene brought to the height it is come unto, wherein the providence of our Great GOD is especially to be observed, who by the least and weakest meanes, oftentimes effecteth great and wonderfull things; all which I have endeavoured to contract in as short a compasse, as the length of the time and the variety of the accidents would give leave, as for the truth thereof, I presume it is so publicly known, as malice it selfe dares not onely question it, though I know none, I thank my God to whom I have given any just cause maliciously to attempt it unlesse it be for the desire I

¹ Mr. Rich, as has been mentioned, supposed that the first and second tracts, as they had different dates and separate paging, were printed separately. This cannot be true. The signatures of the first tract run regularly into the second. In the running-title common to both, an odd old English *w* is found in the "New England" on the signature

pages of both tracts, which identifies them as being, in printers' language, "one job." As each form is worked, the other matter is distributed; but the running-titles are allowed to remain on the imposing-stone in their same relative positions, in readiness for the next form.

“ had to do good to all without wronging of any, as by the course of my life to
 “ this present it may appear.

“ If in the conclusion of my undertaking and expence of my fortunes to
 “ advance the honour and happiness of my Nation, I have settled a portion
 “ thereof to those that in nature must succeed me; you may be pleased to re-
 “ member that the Labourer is worthy of his hire.

“ That I have not exceeded others not better deserving that I go hand in hand
 “ with the meanest in this great worke, to whom the charge thereof was com-
 “ mitted by royall Authority.

“ That I have opened the way to greater employments and shalbe (as a hand
 “ set up in a crosse way) in a desert Country to point all travellers in such like
 “ kind, how they may come safe to finish their journeys end leaving an example
 “ to others best affected to designs of such like nature to prosecute their intents
 “ for further in largement of those begun Plantations, without trenching or in-
 “ truding upon the rights and labours of others already possessed, of what is
 “ justly granted them.

“ Especially of such, who in some sort may be termed Benefactors as Sec-
 “ ondary donors of what (by Gods favour) is had, or to be had from those springs
 “ they first found and left to posterity to bath themselves in, but if there be any,
 “ otherwise affected, as better delighted to reap what they have not sown, or to
 “ possess the fruit another hath laboured for, let such be assured, so great injustice
 “ will never want a wofull attendance to follow close at the heeles, if not stayed
 “ behind to bring after a more terrible revenge; But my trust is such, impiety
 “ will not be suddenly harboured where the whole work is I hope still continued
 “ for the enlargement of the Christian faith, the supportation of justice, and love
 “ of peace, in assurance whereof, I will conclude and tell you (as I have lived
 “ long) so I have done what I could, let those that come after me doe for their
 “ parts what they may, and I doubt not but the God that governes all, will
 “ reward their labours that continue in his service, to whom be Glory for ever,
 “ Amen.

FERDINANDO GORGES.”

The Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society supposed that this Preface belonged to Sir Ferdinando's
 “ Briefe Narration,” and had been misplaced in binding. In their
 reprint they therefore prefixed it to that tract. The Publishing
 Committee of the Maine Historical Society have also prefixed it
 to their reprint, without a word of apology or explanation.

I beg to submit the opinion that both Committees have made a mistake; that this Preface belonged where they found it; and that it has no possible connection with "Briefe Narration," for the following reasons:—

1. No copy of the Tracts, in their original condition, has been found with this Preface so inserted.

2. The arrangement of signatures will not admit of that order. The first tract ends in the middle of signature H. The title-leaf of the second tract and the first leaf of the text complete signature H. On the second leaf of the text follows signature I. There is therefore no place for a Preface to "Briefe Narration."

3. The style of composition in the Preface is not that of Sir Ferdinando. Without referring to the style of "Briefe Narration,"—which may have been tampered with by his Grandson,—the letters he wrote to his shipmasters, the answers he made to the proceedings against him in Parliament, and especially his "Defence against the Charge of having Betrayed the Earl of Essex,"¹ show that Sir Ferdinando wrote forcible and idiomatic English. The Preface is not English. It bears in every line traces of the maudlin intellect and shallow duplicity of the Grandson. If not written by Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, its authorship must be ascribed to the Mrs. Gamp of that period.

4. The subject-matter precludes the idea that it was written by Sir Ferdinando, unless we assume that he had as little regard for truth as we know his Grandson had. It speaks of "great and wonderful things affected in the providence of God." "Briefe Narration" mentions nothing of this kind; but is a mournful record of losses, disappointments, and disasters. Great and wonderful things were indeed, in the Providence of God, effected in New-England, and *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour*

¹ Printed in Mr. Folsom's "Catalogue of Original Documents in the English Archives relating to the Early History of the State of Maine," 1858, p. 118.

in New-England records them. They occurred, however, in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and not in the puny settlements on the Sagadahoc and the Agamenticus, to which Sir Ferdinando's narration exclusively relates. The allusions to "trenching or "intruding upon the rights and labors of others"; of "reaping "what they had not sown"; of "possessing the fruit another hath "labored for"; and the warning that "so great injustice will never "want a woeful attendance" and "terrible revenge,"—indicate unmistakably the writer. In the lifetime of Sir Ferdinando, the question of jurisdiction and encroachment had not arisen.

5. "Briefe Narration" needed no preface: *Wonder-working Providence*, in its new relation, did. A counterfeit must have some resemblance to the genuine article, or it is no counterfeit. The design was to convey to the reader the impression, or rather to strengthen the positive statement on the fabricated titlepage, that *Wonder-working Providence* was written by Sir Ferdinando. This was done by mingling some facts and expressions from his tract with the tone of Puritan piety which pervades Johnson's book. It was a very crude and bungling scheme; but it was all its author was capable of. The wonder is that any person has been deceived by it.

The fourth tract requires no especial notice. It contains no allusion to New-England, and is a feeble epitome of Spanish conquests in America.

We now come to consider the motive and plan of Gorges in concocting this strange compilation.

The private fortune of Sir Ferdinando was in a ruined condition before his decease. The loss of some £20,000 in his attempts

to settle his "Province of Mayne" was but the beginning of his pecuniary misfortunes. When open hostilities broke out between the forces of the Long Parliament and of King Charles I., Gorges, an old man, threw himself and his fortune into the conflict. He attended the king on his expedition to Scotland in 1641. He was in Prince Rupert's army at the siege of Bristol, in 1643; and, when that city was retaken in 1645 by the Parliamentary forces, he was imprisoned and his property sequestered.¹ The King, in his letter to the Massachusetts Colony, June 11, 1665,² says he was "plundered and imprisoned several times, and thereby disabled from any further expenses in carrying on the said plantation." He died, it is supposed, in 1647, when the fortunes of his King and the cause to which he had committed himself were growing more and more desperate. We cannot withhold our pity for this old man, overwhelmed with misfortunes in his last days.³

¹ See Gorges's Petitions in Folsom's Documents, pp. 22, 61. Belknap's Life of Gorges, Am. Biog. i. 389.

² Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 244.

³ His mode of colonization was bad; but I cannot believe that he was a bad man. His views as to the importance of planting English colonies in this western world were far in advance of the men of his time. If he engaged in the enterprise solely on the theory of a commercial speculation, it can be said in his behalf that it was the best theory which had then been developed. His error was, that, with his knowledge of men and of the world, he did not project a better one. His plan of colonizing with convicts must be attributed to his copartner, Sir John Popham, and to the example of French adventurers. A military and a naval commander, he had many of the qualities that adorn those noble professions. His convictions were strong and decided, and he hesi-

tated not to act upon them. He believed in royalty, and was ready to stake his life in its defense. He was attached to the person of Charles I., and, when more than seventy years of age, he was eager to fight for the King. The scandalous excesses of his colonists in Maine he denounced in withering terms before a Committee of Parliament. (See Briefe Narration, p. 28. Compare Folsom's Docs. p. 68. Hutchinson's Collections, p. 424.)

The following incident, which was much to his credit, is not mentioned by his biographer Belknap, nor by his recent "Vindicator," Mr. John A. Poor. Charles I., in 1625, sent an English fleet to Dieppe, under the pretense on the part of Louis XIII., that he was to employ it against the Genoese, who were then allies of Spain. While the fleet was lying in the French port, a suspicion arose among the sailors that their services were to be employed against the

Of his eldest son and heir, John Gorges, we know but little. He probably died soon after the death of his father; and *his* son Ferdinando came into possession of all the title the Grandfather had in a vast tract of wild territory in Maine. All attempts of Gorges the elder, when he had capital and influence, to settle and improve this territory, had resulted in disaster. Gorges the younger had neither capital, influence, nor brains for such an undertaking. All he could do was to complain that Massachusetts had encroached on his Grandfather's patent, and demand remuneration for the said trespass. The Massachusetts Government stoutly denied the justice of the claim (on grounds which will be stated hereafter), and refused compensation. For ten years subsequent to the death of his Grandfather, there was no one to listen to his whine for remuneration but cowed exiles and royalists. Oliver Cromwell was Protector of the Massachusetts Colony, as well as of England. Gorges, in those weary years, had no consolation but a hope of seeing an end of the Puritan Commonwealth and a restoration of the Stuarts. Meanwhile, the nominal

Huguenots at Rochelle. The sailors remonstrated to Pennington, the commander, and declared that they had rather be hanged in England, for disobedience to orders, than fight their brother Protestants in France. The fleet returned to England; and it was sent back to France, with a false rumor that peace had been concluded with the Huguenots, and with positive orders to serve under the French King. Pennington put his flagship under French control; the other commanders, with reluctance, surrendered in like manner; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges came away with his ship, the *Neptune*, and returned again to England, where his conduct was applauded by the people and by the House of Commons. A general desertion of officers and sailors followed, and the

expedition was abandoned. (Rushworth's Collections, i. 175; Hume, chap. 50.)

Low cunning and deception, the leading traits in the character of his descendant, seemed to have been his especial detestation.

Judge Sullivan (District of Maine, pp. 73, 237) has a different estimate of the character of Gorges. He considers him "a man of great ambition, very avaricious, very despotical, and never considered a man of integrity." Mr. E. C. Benedict, of New York (The Beginning of America: a Discourse, Nov. 17, 1863), says, "If there was ever a man of pretension, a favorite and a parasite of a powerful monarch, who was always unsuccessful, that man was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Whatever he touched failed" (p. 33).

proprietor of the largest tract of land claimed by any subject in the British realm, was a needy expectant, a seedy gentleman, as unscrupulous and tricky as he was necessitous.¹

On the third day of September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died. Richard Cromwell was but the shadow of his father's name. It needed no prophet's ken to see that the days of the Commonwealth were numbered. Gorges's time had now come. He proceeded without delay to prepare his case. So far as Charles II. was concerned, it was sufficient to plead, on the one hand, the services and losses of his Grandfather in the defense of Charles I.; and, on the other hand, that the Massachusetts colonists were Puritans, and offered a shelter to the regicides of "the Blessed Martyr." The King's counsellors, however, and perhaps a committee of Parliament, might be more inquisitive, and wish to know what the Gorges family had done for the New-England plantations. A "Memorial Volume" must therefore be prepared, which should be "A Vindication of the Claims of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as the Father of English Colonization in America." The "Gorges Tracts" — the "Popham Memorial" of two centuries ago — was the result; and Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, was its author.

The construction of this volume is a curiosity in book-making. He found among the papers of his Grandfather a "Briefe Narration" of disastrous attempts to settle his "Province of Mayne." This must have a place in the collection, as it will show one part of his case, that his Grandfather had met with great losses. But the more important fact that the family was connected with the successes in New-England,—how was this to be shown? Here, surely, a difficulty presented itself. Gorges had never been in New-England, and knew nothing of Massachusetts Bay, the largest

¹ Judge Sullivan says (p. 383), "Gorges was a man of no resolution, and was exceedingly necessitous."

and most flourishing colony. By some means, which we are not able to trace, and which are not essential for our present inquiry, he found a volume with the quaint title of *Wonder-working Providence*, giving precisely the information he needed; but advocating views of ecclesiastical polity, and expressed in a style of Puritan sanctity, utterly inconsistent with the opinions and style of his Grandfather, and of his own. Necessity, however, knows no law; and men of his stamp never haggle with consistency. He looks up the publisher, and finds that Mr. Nathaniel Brooke, in his shop at the Angel in Cornhill, has a quantity of the sheets of this book still unsold. We can readily imagine the publisher as not unwilling to dispose of his old stock on favorable terms. The publisher, when the plan of the new compilation was explained to him, might have become a partner in the transaction. It is not necessary to assume that the publisher engaged in it with fraudulent intentions. The author of the book was unknown in England. For five years it had been before the public, and no one had claimed it. A statement from Gorges, that his Grandfather was the author, would not have appeared to the publisher as improbable. Publishers at the present day know but little of the books they print. They probably knew less then. Besides, Mr. Nathaniel Brooke, as will be seen by his list appended to *Wonder-working Providence*, was a publisher of works chiefly on astrology, necromancy, and similar topics. Nothing, therefore, in the line of absurdity, would raise a doubt in his mind.

A new Titlepage, ascribing the authorship to the Grandfather, and a new Preface to match, are all that is needed for a basis of operations. Two tracts are now provided for. To give greater variety, and to show his own paces in historical composition, Gorges prepares two others, — one on New-England, the main facts of which he takes from Johnson, for the first tract; and one on Spanish America, for the fourth. Now for the printing.

More than half the matter is already in print. The other tracts he puts in type, imitating, as nearly as he can, the printed page of *Wonder-working Providence*. He counts the lines on a full page of the latter: they are thirty-eight. His new matter he makes thirty-eight lines to a page. The width of the page is also copied accurately. The running-titles of the first and second tracts are made to correspond to the subject-matter of the third. And yet he would give the impression that the several parts were not printed at the same time; and so he dates them 1659 and 1658.¹

Gorges was not so stupid as to overlook the bald anachronism involved in his plan; namely, that his Grandfather, who died in 1647, was the writer of a narrative describing events which occurred in the Massachusetts Colony as late as 1651. This he provided for in his fabricated titlepage, thus: "Written by "Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight, and Governour of the Fort "and Island of Plimouth in Devonshire, one of the first and "cheifest promoters of those Plantations. Publisht since his "decease, by his Grandchild Ferdinando Gorges Esquire, *who* "hath much enlarged it and added several accurate Descriptions "of his owne." The last thirty-three pages, therefore, poetry, piety, and history, he wrote himself!

The agency of Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, in this surreptitious use of *Wonder-working Providence*, has been denied. The name

¹ The Printer's name, "E. Brudenell," is omitted on the first titlepage, but is given on the second and third. The fourth tract purports to be printed by "T. J." Brudenell is probably the person thus mentioned in Folsom's "Documents on Maine," page 3:—

"(1630?) Petition of Edmond Brudenell,

"Esq. to the Privy Council — Being about "to make a voyage to New England, solicits "permission to ship three or four pieces of "ordnance, also 200 £ in money, &c." The name does not appear in the Massachusetts Records, and it is probable that he did not come over.

of the Gorges family, having rested under "a cloud of obloquy"¹ for more than two centuries, has in these latter days bloomed forth with unwonted splendor and fragrance on the shores of Maine.

The Maine Historical Society is committed to the theory that "the great event of American history"² took place August 19, O. S., 1607, when a company of one hundred and twenty persons, chiefly convicts, were landed on the peninsula of Sabino, at the mouth of the Sagadahoc (now Kennebec) River, more than half of whom returned to England the next December, and the remainder the following Spring.³

Every historical writer of Maine, whether remaining on the old homestead, or gracing the literary circles of metropolitan centers, is expected to, and many of them do, defend this new theory. Are not all their speeches and letters preserved in the "Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration of August 29, 1862"?

Mr. George Folsom, of New York, the accomplished historian, who, as Publishing Committee, wrote, in 1847, the "Preliminary Notice" to the reprint of Sir Ferdinando's "Briefe Narration" in the Maine Historical Society's Collections, considers it "the most plausible conjecture" that the publisher was the real

¹ Poor's Vindication of Gorges, p. 86.

² Opening sentence of the formal Oration at the Popham Celebration, August 29, 1862. (Popham Memorial, p. 57.)

³ It has been discovered that the Plymouth settlement was an insignificant affair, "as a political event, not of the slightest consequence or importance." (Poor's Vindication, p. 72.) It was simply "a nursling of Maine." (Popham Memorial, p. 149.) "Massachusetts, even, may look back with gratitude, as she beholds the fostering hand of Maine, as an elder sister, watching at

"the cradle of her own infancy." (Idem., p. 152.)

The views I entertain respecting this theory will be found in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of April 11, and May 31, 1866. These articles, with the replies they elicited from Rev. Edward Ballard, D.D., of Brunswick, Me., Messrs. Wiggin and Lunt, of Boston, have reprinted in a pamphlet, entitled "The Popham Colony; a Discussion of its Historical Claims. With a Bibliography of the Subject." 1866. 8°, 72 pp.

culprit. "Yet some historical writers," he adds, "have not hesitated to make this matter a subject of reproach to the younger Gorges, as if the deception had been practised by his agency, of which there is not the slightest evidence."¹

Mr. Folsom proceeds: "For all that is now known, the deception, when it came to his knowledge, may have been denounced by him in proper terms."

This mode of defense is as convenient as it is comprehensive; and, if admitted, will cover most of the literary and historical peccadilloes ever committed. It would be quite consistent with the character of Gorges to make such a denunciation; and, if one could be found, it would not add to his disgrace.

"At all events," Mr. Folsom concludes, "so far as appears from the occasional notices of this gentleman, especially in respect to the maintenance of his hereditary right against the claims of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, he bore a highly honorable character, and acquitted himself in that controversy with firmness and independence."

The connection between firmness and independence, and common honesty, — for that is the subject now under consideration, — is not quite apparent. Mr. Folsom's opinion, on any historical question that he had carefully examined, is entitled to much re-

¹ As Mr. Prince, Mr. Rich, and the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, have noticed the deception, but have not fixed the charge upon Gorges, perhaps Mr. Folsom had in mind Ternaux, the French bibliographer of early books on America, who in his "Bibliothèque Américaine," Paris, 1837, says, "Une grande partie de ce livre n'est que la réimpression d'ouvrages déjà publiés que l'auteur s'est appropriés avec une rare impudence."

Mr. S. G. Drake also, in a note on page 188 of his reprint of Mather's "Relation of

"Troubles," &c., says, "Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence* appears to have been taken by Sir Ferdinando Gorges the younger, who, by canceling the titlepage and substituting one with his own name as author, imposed on the public."

Mr. Drake, in this statement, has fallen into two errors. Gorges the younger had no right to, and did not claim, the title of knighthood. Neither did he put "his own name as author," upon the titlepage, otherwise than as *enlarging* what had been written by his ancestor.

spect; but, as a son of Maine, he has, I apprehend, been led into this superficial defense by his respect for the name of Gorges, and his sympathy with opinions then held by the Maine Historical Society.¹

Mr. Folsom's valuable "Catalogue of Original Documents" will furnish him with ample material for estimating the moral qualities of this person. I have noted several points to which I might call his attention. Reference to a single page only must suffice.

On page 22 is a petition of Gorges, in the year 1675, to King Charles II., for the King's enforcement of his claim against the Massachusetts Colony; in which he says "that the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges did expend upwards of £30,000" in his attempts to settle Maine, — which is £10,000 higher than Sir Ferdinando, or any other person has stated it.

Again, Gorges says "that the Massachusetts have endeavoured "to enter into terms with petitioner, that he has been offered "*many thousand pounds* for his interest in the province, but has "firmly refused the same, having promised neither to sell or "alienate the same without the Consent of the King."

It is idle to claim moral rectitude for a person who could put on record such an unmitigated falsehood as that the Massachusetts Colony had offered Gorges *many thousand pounds* for his interest in the province of Maine. If he had such an offer, why did he not accept it, instead of waiting two years, and then ac-

¹ The Popham theory *par excellence*, in 1847, was not invented. Mr. Folsom, in a Discourse, September 6, 1846 (Maine Hist. Coll. ii. 31), speaking of the Popham settlement, says, "How superior was the spirit "exhibited twelve years after by the Pilgrim "emigrants at Plymouth! Had a tithe of "their energy and resolute spirit animated

"the Kennebec colonists, whose resources "were so much superior, a more grateful "task might have awaited the pen that "should relate the story of this enterprise." It appears in Popham Memorial, p. 359, that Mr. Folsom accepts the new claims of the Maine Historical Society.

cepting £1250 from the same party? The precise sum which the Massachusetts Government had offered Gorges was £500.¹ This offer was made for the purpose of ending an irritating controversy, which was endangering their charter, and their amicable relations with the crown; for the King had recognized the claim of Gorges, and was determined that he should receive compensation, or that Massachusetts should abandon the territory.²

The King, it appears, had intended to buy the Mason and Gorges claims himself, for the purpose of setting up a Dukedom on the territory, now New Hampshire and Maine, for his illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth.³ Gorges's motive in falsely stating that he had an offer of many thousand pounds from the Massachusetts Colony was evidently to obtain better terms from the King.

His promise to royalty itself was, like his word or statement in every other matter, worthless. He had "promised," he said in his petition, "neither to sell or alienate the same without the Consent of the King;" and forthwith he sold out to an agent of the Massachusetts Colony, without the consent, or even knowledge, of the King. When, more than a year after the deeds had passed, the King heard of the transaction, his Majesty was highly indignant; and he wrote a sharp letter to Boston, denouncing the sale as illegal, and requiring that it be canceled on the repayment of the purchase-money.⁴

The King, at the time, had not the ready money to refund the £1250; and, soon after, he was prevailed upon by the Duke of York to disgrace Monmouth. Hence the extinction of the claims of Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, against the Massachusetts Colony

¹ See Gov. Leverett's Letter to Major Thompson, in Hutchinson's Collections, p. 467.

² Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 245.

³ Chalmers's Political Annals, p. 484.

⁴ See the King's Letter in Hutchinson's Collections, p. 521, and the Reply in Col. Rec., v. 288.

was not disturbed; and that absurd and mendacious person disappeared from the stage of history. His book, however, remained, to be an enigma to bibliographers and antiquaries.

Sketch of the Life of Edward Johnson.¹

CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON was born in 1599.² Before emigrating to New-England, he resided in the Parish of Herne³ Hill, near Canterbury, County of Kent, England. In

¹ The following notices of Captain Johnson have appeared in print:—

Rev. Joseph Chickering, in a Discourse preached at the dedication of the meeting-house in Woburn, June 28, 1809, and printed the same year, gave a brief sketch of "the Father of the town," a page of which was reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, xii. 95.

Mr. John Farmer published a notice of half a column in the *Columbian Centinel* of June 16, 1819, which he subsequently inserted, with a few alterations, in Farmer and Moore's *New-Hampshire Collections* (i. 252), where it occupies a little more than three pages.

Mr. Farmer fell into the strange mistake of confounding Captain Johnson with Isaac Johnson, and made the former one of the founders of the church in Charlestown in 1632. Captain Johnson was not in New-England at that time. Neither of the above writers were aware that he returned to England soon after he came over with Winthrop's company, and was absent nearly five years.

Allen's *American Biographical Dictionary* of 1809 gave him seven lines. The third edition, 1857, gave him nearly half a page.

Eliot's *Biographical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New-England*, 1809, made no mention of him; but, by way of compensation, gave more than a page of eulogy to the person who stole his *Wonder-working Providence*.

Mr. Savage has a brief biographical note on Johnson, in Winthrop, i. 84, containing but few facts not given by Chickering and Farmer, and those few marred by several errors.

² In two instances he gave his age in testimony in court. In the Middlesex Court Files it appears that June 21, 1664, he was "about 64;" and again, August 8, 1668, he was 69. His wife on these occasions gave her age as "about 66" and "about 71."

³ The orthography of this name is various. Johnson, in his Will, wrote it *Herron* and *Heron*. Other writers made it *Heiron*, *Heirne*, and *Herne*. The Parish is six miles west of north from Canterbury. That John-

England he was possessed of a comfortable estate, consisting of a farm and two other pieces of property, which he held during his lifetime, and in his Will bequeathed them to six of his grandchildren.¹

The honorable title of "Mr.," prefixed to his name in the earliest records of the colony,² shows that he was then considered a person of property³ and influence. A curious instance of the

son lived at or near a cathedral town might be inferred from his knowledge of the various officials connected with the full cathedral service. See his enumeration of them on page 24.

The designation *Herne Hill* was probably used to distinguish the parish now called Herne from Herne Bay, which is a thriving watering-place on the shore of the German Ocean, a mile and three-quarters north of the village. The "British Gazetteer" says:—

"The village is distinguished by most of the characteristics of rustic beauty, quietude and repose. The church, which stands at the southern extremity of the place, is a very ancient structure, spacious and handsome, having a nave, side aisles, three chapels, and six stalls, with a remarkably imposing screen. In the interior there are general escutcheons of arms, several old monumental records, a number of those delights of the antiquary, memorial brasses, and an antique font. Ridley, Bishop of London, who was burned at Oxford in 1555, was collated with this living in 1538 by Archbishop Cranmer."

¹ His Will, from the Middlesex Records, is printed entire at the end of this sketch.

² Col. Rec. i. 79, 366.

³ Mr. Chickering (p. 25) says, "It appears that Capt. Johnson was not rich, as in the town [of Woburn] tax made just before his death, his part was less

"than the average part of all the inhabitants."

This is not a correct statement. Through the kindness of Mr. Nathan Wyman, the present Town Clerk of Woburn, I have had an opportunity of examining the Woburn Records. There are but three lists of taxes there recorded previous to Captain Johnson's death; namely, in 1645, in 1646, and in 1666. In the first list, forty-five persons were taxed, and Capt. Johnson's rate was the highest except one. In the second, forty-six persons were taxed, and three rates only exceeded his. In the third, seventy-eight persons were taxed, and nineteen rates only exceeded his. In his Will, he speaks of having "disposed [of land] in my lifetime to my sons." This probably took place before the tax-list of 1666 was made, and the land was taxed in their names. Mr. Chickering had not seen his Will; and, knowing that he had devoted thirty years of his life to public service, in positions that afforded little or no pecuniary recompense, inferred that he was a poor man.

Before he made the settlement of Woburn, he was the proprietor of considerable land in Charlestown. He owned a large tract on "Mystic side" (now Malden); and he held five shares in the "Stinted Common" (now Somerville), where the Charlestown landholders pastured their milch cows and working cattle. The largest number of rights any one had was ten and three-fourths; and

importance our fathers attached to the prefix of "Mr." is found in the Massachusetts Records for September, 1631.

"It is ordered, that Jofias Plaftowe fhall (for stealing 4 basketts of corne from the Indians) returne them 8 basketts again, be fined V l, & hereafter to be called by the name of Jofias, & not M^r, as formerly hee vsed to be, & that Willm Buckland & Tho. Andrewe fhall be whipped for being accessary to the same offence." (Col. Rec. i. 92.)

With regard to his occupation in England, he made the statement to the agents of the "Commiffion for Regulating Foreign Plantations," when he embarked from England with his family in 1636, that he was a "joiner."¹

The first impression is that this statement was an evasion. The English hierarchy had become alarmed at the immense number of emigrants who were coming to Massachusetts Bay, and especially at the superior quality of the persons emigrating, and their acts of nonconformity when they arrived. This Commission, at the head of which was Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been appointed two years before,² and proved an annoyance rather than an absolute hinderance to emigration. Ships ready to sail were repeatedly detained, and individuals were prevented for a time from leaving England; but in the end they generally contrived to escape.³ In 1638 twenty vessels arrived at Boston with three thousand passengers. No one above the rank of mechanic or serving-man was allowed to depart without special leave of the commission. Some of the best of our New-England fathers evaded these arbitrary regulations, by suppressing or misstating

the smallest, half a right. (Frothingham's History of Charlestown, p. 66.) Mr. Frothingham informs me that few persons had more than one or two rights. From these facts, taken in connection with his property in England, I infer that he was in easy circumstances, and was thus enabled to devote

himself almost exclusively to public matters.

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. p. 276.

² The commission, dated April 24, 1634, is in Hutchinson's Mass. i. App. No. iv.

³ Bancroft, Hist. of United States, i. 409. N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. viii. 138.

their real occupation and social condition. Mr. Thomas Shepard, the first minister of Cambridge, embarked under the assumed name of his brother, as "John Shepard, husbandman."¹ His brother Samuel assumed to be the servant of Mr. Roger Harlakenden.² Captain Johnson's frequent and pungent allusions to the English hierarchy and to the Archbishop of Canterbury in particular, indicate that his respect and affection for those ecclesiastical potentates were not of so exalted a nature that he would covet their examination into his personal concerns, if an evasion could save him from the ordeal. After his arrival in New-England, it is clear that he did not engage in "joining" or any other mechanical occupation.

It is probable, however, that the occupation he gave to the commissioners, if an evasion, was not a misstatement. From the fact that several of his sons and grandsons were shipwrights and carpenters,³ I am inclined to the opinion that, at some time in his life, he had been a shipbuilder. This occupation he could have carried on at Herne Bay. From his landed estates in England, it is evident that at the time of his emigration he was a thrifty farmer. It will appear also, as we proceed, that he was a trader,⁴ and was imbued with a keen relish for adventure.

Captain Johnson had evidently in England given considerable

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. 268. Young's Chron. of Mass. p. 260.

² Idem. 268; Young, 544.

³ His eldest son Edward describes himself in his will as "of Charlestown, shipwright." His youngest son, Matthew, was doubtless a carpenter, as the Woburn Records contain two accounts of his, for carpenter's work upon the meeting-house and the parsonage. His fourth son, John, was a millwright. His third son, Major William, appears in early life to have followed the family occupation. In a deed

recorded in Middlesex Registry in 1652 (iii. 18), he is described as shipwright; and in another deed (iv. 312), he is described as carpenter. Major William's son William was also a shipwright at Charlestown. For several of these items, I am indebted to Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, Mass., who has in preparation a history of the town of Woburn.

⁴ No New-England writer was so observant as he of the business features and expenses of the enterprise, or recorded so many of these statistics.

attention to military matters, and there acquired the rank by which he has since been known. If he had not emigrated to New-England, he would doubtless have been one of Oliver's sturdy fighting-men, and perhaps an officer of note. Soon after his second arrival, we find his name in the Charlestown Records with the prefix of *Captain*, a title of honor which in those days was not given at random. He gathered and drilled a squad of militia at Woburn, soon after its settlement; and he always held a command in the militia of the Colony. His name scarcely ever appears in the Massachusetts Records without his military title. When, in 1643, he became a Deputy to the General Court, he was placed on nearly every military committee; and he was often sent out on expeditions to treat with or overawe the Indians, and to deal with troublesome neighbors. His expedition to arrest Gorton was made on the September following his election to the General Court.

On military committees, he was intrusted with the most extraordinary powers, which indicate the confidence reposed in his judgment in these matters. One of those committees was authorized¹ to inspect all fortifications; to levy fines on towns for neglecting to complete their works; to collect arrearages, fines, and penalties of the inhabitants by distress or otherwise; to draw on the Treasurer of the Colony for as much money as will fully answer the committee's demands, whose receipt was the Treasurer's discharge for so much. Such powers as these were not a temporary expedient, but were continued in his hands, and those of his associates, from year to year. That he did not attain to high military rank in the Colony was doubtless owing to that singular modesty of his which is apparent in all he undertook.

Captain Johnson, early in April, 1630, without his family, embarked at Southampton for New-England, in one of the vessels

¹ Col. Rec. ii. 197-8.

of the fleet which brought Governor Winthrop and his company to Massachusetts Bay. The "Eagle," afterwards called the "Arbella," is the only ship he mentions by name, and this he mentions four times. The "Arbella" was the flag-ship, or "admiral," as Winthrop calls it, and conveyed the Governor, the members of his suit, and other prominent persons. Winthrop (p. 6) and Johnson (p. 30) describe in similar terms the excitement on board ship at meeting, and the preparations made to fight, what was supposed to be several Dunkirk men-of-war, but which, on coming into close quarters, proved to be friendly merchant vessels. It is probable that Johnson came in the "Arbella."

Several very plausible objections may be urged against the statement that Captain Johnson came over with Winthrop's company in 1630, — such as the following: How can it be reconciled, that, coming over in 1630, he connected himself with no church in the colony; obtained no residence; and took no part in the political or ecclesiastical movements of the day, of which the fullest details have been preserved? He was a man of marked ability, of considerable property, of deep religious character, a Puritan of the Puritans, and one who took a leading position wherever he was. It will not be questioned but that he came over with his family in 1636, and settled in Charlestown. From that moment to the day of his death, we never lose sight of him. The Records of Charlestown, of Woburn, and of the Colony are filled with his name and his deeds. How is it that we know so little of him before 1636, and so much of him after that date? Mr. Farmer¹ says, "In 1630 he came to Charlestown, "where he resided about ten years." There is no evidence that he came to Charlestown in 1630 and took up his residence; and, as to the rest of the statement, Mr. Farmer was certainly in error. Mr. Savage supposes that he came over in 1630 to look up a

¹ New-Hamp. Hist. Coll. i. 252.

place for a permanent settlement, with the intention of returning to England for his family. This might partially account for his not connecting himself with any church, and for his not taking a leading part in political and religious matters. But the difficulty still remains. It does not appear that he took any land at Charlestown, or elsewhere, or selected a place of residence. We do not know when he returned to England. But on the supposition that he did select a place of residence, and prepare a home for his family, and soon return to England, how are we to account for his long years of absence? A man of his irrepressible activity and stern principles could not have been idle during those five years. He could have served the Colony in Old England perhaps better than in the New, by acting as agent in promoting emigration, by imparting information, and allaying existing prejudice against the Colony, or in purchasing and forwarding merchandise. If he had performed any of these acts, his name would have appeared in the narratives and correspondence of that period. I have made a careful search, and find no trace of him in those papers.

Captain Johnson in his book nowhere states that he came over in 1630. On p. 34, under date of 1630, he says, "This Author came in a foggy morning," &c. It must be remembered, however, that he wrote some twenty years later than 1630, and that the dates in the headings cannot be relied upon as the time when the events described took place. Besides, he is speaking here of what he had more fully narrated on p. 31, the number of vessels which had arrived in New-England from 1628 to 1643. May not, then, the author have alluded to his arrival in 1636?

Is it quite certain that the person who expressed, October 19, 1630, a wish to be made freeman,¹ and was made freeman May 31, 1631,² was the author of *Wonder-working Providence*? Four

¹ Col. Rec. i. 79.

² Idem. i. 366.

persons of this name appear to be mentioned in the Colonial Records, as follows:—

1. Edward Johnson, admitted as above.
2. Edward Johnson, who (if the following record is correct) was deceased July 1, 1634.

“Willm Almy is fyned x^s for not appeareing att the laft Court, being fumond, & is inioyned to bring to the nexte Court an inventory of the goods hee received of Edw: Johnfons [estate], duely prized by indifferent men.” (Col. Rec. i. 122.)

3. Edward Johnson, admitted freeman May 2, 1638. (Idem. i. 374.)

4. Edward Johnson, admitted freeman November 22, 1652. (Idem. iv. Pt. 1, 129.)

I think there can be no doubt that the person first on the list was the subject of this sketch. The other persons named we are able to identify. The second Edward Johnson was not deceased in 1634, as the record would seem to imply, and as the index-maker expressly asserts. He was alive at that time, and lived many years later. He was the same person who was admitted freeman in 1631. The mistake has arisen from the interpolation into the printed record of a final *s* to the name, which is not in the original manuscript.¹

¹ For some months this intrusive letter gave me a deal of trouble. From evidence that will hereafter appear, I was convinced that the person referred to was our author, who was at that time in England; and that, when in New-England on his first visit, he had committed to William Almy certain property which had not been accounted for. If this point could be made to appear, it would furnish strong corroborating testimony as to the object for which he first

came to America, the business in which he was engaged, and the reason of our knowing so little of his first visit. As the record stood, it was a reference to one deceased. On inquiring of several of my friends more skilled than myself in the early records, whether the passage would not admit of my interpretation, the most encouraging reply I could get was, “It is possible, but not probable.” All that was needed to sustain my theory was to dispose of the final *s*. A

The third Edward Johnson was the eldest son of the first Edward.¹ The fourth Edward Johnson never resided in the Massachusetts Colony proper. He was admitted at Kittery, and was a resident of York. He was made a justice of the peace, in the Gorges interest, in 1665, by Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, the King's Commissioners.²

The minute and pathetic description Captain Johnson gives (pp. 25, 26, 27) of the parting of relatives at Southampton, indicates that he was a party in that leave-taking. What he says of "Husbands and Wives with mutuall consent are now purposed "to part for a time 900 Leagues afunder, since some providence "at present will not suffer them to goe together," was his own case. He embarked on his second voyage from Sandwich.

collation of the printed text with the original record was the next step. This comparison, made several times before in other difficult passages, had served to heighten my admiration of the extreme accuracy of the printed records.

I called at the Office of the Secretary of State, and to my friend, Mr. David Pulsifer, who copied the original records for the press, stated my case; and asked if he could aid me in disposing of that annoying letter. He kindly offered his services, and brought out the original record. We found no *s* there. One had been inserted, but it was stricken out at the time of the original entry; for the ink was of a very peculiar color, and the erasure was of precisely the color and tone of the entry. Mr. Pulsifer, somewhat disturbed at this discovery, said, "Is it possible that *I* put in that *s*?" The manuscript, from which the text was set up, was in his possession. It was brought out, and there was no *s* in the copy. I mention these circumstances only as a curious illustration of the fact, so much lamented by

authors and editors, that no care nor diligence in proof-reading can provide against errors in the best-regulated printing-office.

¹ It may seem strange that a person born in 1599 could have had a son old enough in 1638 to be made freeman. The original practice in the Colony was not to admit persons as freemen under the age of twenty-one years. On the 4th of March, 1634-5, the rule was modified, as follows:—

"It is ordered, that the freemens oath "shalbe gyven to euy man of or above the "age of 16 yeares, the clause for eleccon of "magistrates onely excepted." (Col. Rec. i. 139.)

Captain Johnson was therefore probably married when he was about twenty-one years of age.

² Williamson's Maine, i. 416. An incident is related of this person in Winthrop ii. 210, which shows that he was a low and worthless character; and that Roger Garde, the tailor Mayor of Gorges's city of Gorgeana, was a person equally depraved.

There is positive evidence that Captain Johnson was in New-England before August 3, 1632. This appears from a record made at that time by Governor Winthrop (i. 84). It seems that a misunderstanding, if not a quarrel, had arisen between the Governor and his Deputy, Mr. Thomas Dudley, in which the Deputy propounded to the Governor seven interrogatories. The third, with the Governor's reply, is as follows: "By what authority he had licensed Edward Johnson to fit down at Merrimacke. — Governour answered, that he had licensed him only to go forth on trading (as he had done divers others) as belonging to his place."¹

This incident is important evidence as to the occupation of the author of *Wonder-working Providence* during his first visit to New-England, and as to the motive for which he came.

The expression, "to fit down at Merrimacke," does not imply that Johnson had made a settlement; for, in the Colony, there was no place of that name, and there were then no settlements on the Merrimack River. The Governor quietly disposes of the complaint of his testy Deputy, by saying that he had given Johnson no license to "fit down" or make a settlement, but "only to go forth on *trading*."

¹ Mr. Savage, in a note on this passage, says, "This person I presume to be . . . the "enthusiastic historian of *Wonder-working Providence*," and he gives some biographical items respecting him, in which are several mistakes.

Capt. Johnson was not one *year* Speaker of the House of Deputies, but one *week*. (Col. Rec. iii. 373.)

The person whom Johnson alludes to (p. 165), as employed at Mevis, one of the Summer Islands, was not his son; but was Mr. Nathaniel White, who graduated at Harvard College in 1646. (See W. W. P., p. 229.)

The Robert Johnson who graduated at Harvard College in 1645 was not Edward Johnson's son.

He had no son Robert.

None of his sons graduated at Harvard College.

These errors Mr. Savage copied from Mr. Farmer, and they are repeated in his latest edition. Mr. Savage, in many places, speaks in severe terms of the inaccuracies of Johnson's book. It has many errors; but I know no five lines in Johnson which contain more errors than there are in five lines of Mr. Savage's note.

That Captain Johnson was familiar with the Merrimack River is evident from his many descriptive allusions thereto. He never speaks of it (as of the Connecticut River, which he had not seen) simply by name, but uniformly with some epithet of magnitude, beauty, or grandeur. On p. 13, it is "the pleasant River of Merimech;" on pp. 68, 69, "the wide venting streames of Merrimeck River, whose strong current is such, that it hath forced its passage through the mighty Rocks, which caufeth some suddenn falls¹ and hinders Shipping from having any accessse far into the Land, her bankes are in many places stored with Oken Timber of all forts, of which, that which is commonly call'd white Oke is not inferior to our English Timber." On p. 134, it is "the famous River of Merimeck;" on p. 135, "the broade swift torrent of Merrimeck, a very goodly River to behold, were it not blockt up with some suddaine falls through the rocks." On p. 197, it is "the fair and large river of Merrimeck;" and, on p. 210, "the goodly river of Merrimeck."²

Johnson had seen no larger or more picturesque river than the sluggish Thames. Coming upon one like the Merrimack in the midst of an unbroken forest, it is natural that he should have been deeply impressed with its grandeur and beauty; and that this impression should have remained on his mind long afterwards when he wrote his book. He seems to have extended his trad-

¹ He visited, it seems, the present site of Lawrence, and perhaps of Lowell.

² In May, 1657 (Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 1, 291), Capt. Johnson was appointed one of a committee with full powers to superintend the fur-trade with the Indians. This committee proceeded to farm out to "able and honest persons" the various localities where this trade was carried on. The trade on the Merrimack brought the highest price, £25;

that of Springfield and Norwottocke, the next highest, £20. Cambridge and Sudbury were the lowest in the list, each bringing but £2. The trade was to commence July 1, 1657, and "to pay in beaver." (Idem, p. 354.)

Capt. Johnson seems, therefore, to have fallen upon the best Indian trading-ground in the Colony; or his knowledge of the locality enabled him to obtain the highest price for the same.

ing expeditions as far north as the Piscataqua; and, in his travels, to have looked upon objects with the practised eye of a business man. Of the Piscataqua, he says (p. 170), "Although it be not "nigh so broad as *Merrinaeck* [*sic*] river, yet it is navigable, "being very deep, and her banks in many places fil'd with stately "timber, which hath caused one or two Saw-Mills to be continued; "there they have a good quantity of Meddow Land, and good "ground for India corn."¹

It is hardly necessary to produce other evidence to show that our author was in New-England before he came with his family. This point admitted, there is no question that he came over with Winthrop, and was the person admitted freeman in 1631.

We are now prepared to inquire why, from him and from contemporary writers, so little is known of his first visit; why a person of his ability and active temperament, who was in New-England in 1630 and part of 1631, took so little part in the affairs of the Colony; why we are not able to determine with accuracy when he returned; and why he remained abroad some five years without leaving traces of himself in the voluminous records and narratives of that period.

In answering these inquiries, it is not possible to state, without being tedious, all the reasons on which the views to be presented are founded. They have not been reached, however, without study and mature deliberation.

Captain Johnson, when he came over in 1630, was, I believe,

¹ Settlements were commenced on this river about the year 1623.

Johnson visited these localities subsequently; but I think the minute descriptions he gives of them are his early impressions. In later years, he visited the Providence Plantation, but not as a trader; and he

gave no account of what he saw. If he ever visited the Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut Colonies, or the Massachusetts settlements as far west as the Connecticut River, there is no evidence of the fact in his book, nor do I find any elsewhere.

not influenced by the religious sentiments of Winthrop's company, and probably did not claim to be a religious man. He came for trade and adventure. Having no concern in the civil and ecclesiastical questions of the Colony, his name nowhere appears at this period of its history. Hence he connected himself with no church. He took no land, for he did not intend to remain. He came; and, having traded for a while among the Indians, and gratified his taste for adventure, he departed. When he left, was a fact of little importance to himself, and of none to the Colony: hence there is no record of it.

The impelling motive which led to the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay, as of the Plymouth, Colony, was a religious one; but it was prudently kept in abeyance till the fleet had arrived in New-England. The development of a continent supposed to possess every species of mineral and vegetable wealth, and the planting there of English institutions and English power, were motives so grand and so captivating to the Anglo-Saxon mind, that many persons embarked in the enterprise who had no sympathy with the religious opinions of the prime movers. Young men of property, who were fond of adventure, must have felt a strong impulse to see a country of which they had heard strange stories. The idea of obtaining the peltry of beaver and otter from the Indians, in exchange for inexpensive baubles, attached trading adventurers to the company. Persons went with the Colony who were not of it. They had no part in its policy, and no place in its history. Captain Johnson brings out this very plainly on p. 19, where he speaks of "Marchant Adventurers."—"Amongst whom came over a mixt multitude, infomuch that very little appeared [of them] in the following worke." If Johnson had not come over a second time, we could not have identified him in that "mixt multitude" whose names and deeds have passed into oblivion.

In saying that in 1630 he was probably not a religious man, I speak as he himself, in later years, would have spoken, comparing his religious life with what it was subsequently. He doubtless repeated the Apostles' Creed, and declared himself a "miserable sinner" at morning service in that fine old church at Herne Hill already described (p. lvii.); and, at that time, he might have been shocked at the intimation that he was not a religious man.

But did not his expressing in October, 1630, a desire to become a freeman, and his actually taking the oath the following May, indicate a sympathy, at least, with the religious sentiments of the Colony, and a purpose of taking up a permanent settlement? I think not. No religious test was required of the first list of persons admitted in May, 1631.¹ No freemen, however, were subsequently admitted except such as were church members. If action on his name had been postponed to the next meeting of the Court, he probably would not have been admitted.² There was no expense or inconvenience in becoming a freeman; and there were advantages, of which he subsequently availed himself in his business relations.

I infer, therefore, that Captain Johnson came over, in 1630, for

¹ See W. W. P., p. 39.

² The policy of excluding persons who were not church-members from exercising a political franchise in the government was adopted the same session (May 18, 1631) at which he was made freeman. The order is as follows: "That for time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of this body polliticke, but such as are members of some of the churches within the lymitts of the same." (Col. Rec. i. 87.)

No law of the Colony was more severely assailed than this for the next third of a century by malcontents here and in Eng-

land; yet it was not rescinded nor qualified till August, 1664.

On the list of 109 persons desiring admission, Johnson's name stands second; on the list of 116 persons admitted, his name is nearly at the foot, the 110th. This may have occurred by accident; or it may indicate that there was a question raised as to the admission of some persons on the list; which, after the main body had been admitted, was settled (as such matters usually are) by a compromise, — admitting the person or persons objected to, and making a rule that no more of that class should come in.

traffic and adventure. We find him trading on the Merrimack River soon after his arrival. He then disappears, probably returning to England in the Summer of 1631, and leaving a remainder of his goods unsold, or some of the property he had exchanged for them, in the hands of one William Almy. Almy seems not to have made returns for this property, and probably did not respond to the owner's letters respecting it. Availing himself of his citizenship, Johnson brings the delinquency of his correspondent to the attention of the Court. Almy is summoned into Court; but, neglecting to appear, he is fined ten shillings, and enjoined to appear at the next Court with an inventory of goods which he had received of Edward Johnson.¹

The grounds for the opinion expressed, that he embarked for England in the summer of 1631, probably in season to escape the Atlantic storms of early winter, are, that such omissions and inaccuracies occur in his narrative, from that time till his return in 1636, as might be expected from one who was not personally cognizant of what he narrated. For instance, he describes, on p. 50, under the date of 1632, a night skirmish with a party of Tarrentine Indians landing at Lynn, and the hair-breadth escape of Lieutenant Walker. It reads like a wild Indian-story, which has in it more of romance than of fact. None of the other early New-England writers mention the affair. If it actually occurred, it was only a reconnoissance. The real attack of those wild Eastern warriors was on an Indian settlement at Agawam (Ipswich), where they killed seven men, wounded John and James Sagamore, and carried away some captives. Winthrop (i. 59) fixes the date of the Ipswich attack as August 8, 1631. The Lynn affair (if it occurred at all) must have taken place at this time; for there is no account that the Tarrentines were on the coast

¹ The matter was doubtless amicably arranged; for, on the 6th of September, 1638, four years after the incident occurred, Almy's fine was remitted. (Col. Rec. i. 244.)

the next year. There is a strong presumption, in his not mentioning the Ipswich attack, that he had left the country before it occurred.¹

His account (on p. 63) of the adventure of Governor Winthrop and party, on an island in Boston Harbor, where they were detained by a storm, contains many inaccuracies which can be explained on no other hypothesis than that he was absent from the country at the time. He says:—

“In the vernall of the yeare 1634. this people being increased . . . they begun to thinke of fortifying a small Island about two miles from Boston to Sea-ward, [Castle Island, now occupied by Fort Independence] to which all the Veffels come in usually and passe. To this end the honoured Mr *John Winthrope* with some 8. or 10. persons of note, tooke boate and arrived on the said Island in a warme Sun fhineday, just at the breaking up of Winter as they deemed, but being they were sudden surprised with a cold North-west storme (which is the sharpest winde in this Country) freezing very vehemently for a day and a night, that they could not get off the Island, but were forced to lodge there, and lie in a heape one upon another (on the ground) to keep themselves from freezing.”

The Governor's adventure occurred, not “in the vernall of the yeare 1634,” but in February, 1632.² The party consisted of twenty-six persons in all. The spot they visited was not Castle Island, but Nataskott [Nantasket], not far from the present site

¹ Johnson knew the friendly chiefs who were wounded at Ipswich, and had doubtless availed himself of their services in his trading expeditions on the Merrimack. On p. 51 he speaks of John Sagamore “being always very courteous.” He describes his last sickness, the disposition he made of his children, and his death (both chiefs died of small-pox, Dec. 5, 1633), with so many variations from Winthrop's account (i. 119), that he probably received the narrative at

second hand, several years after the events happened.

² See Winthrop's own account in his Journal. (i. 99.)

Mr. Savage, in his note on the passage, again takes the occasion to sneer at the inaccuracies of Johnson, who, he says, “shows little precision in any thing but his creed.” Mr. Savage did not duly consider that Johnson was absent from the country when the incident occurred.

of Fort Warren. They were kept there two nights "upon the ground in an open cottage." Winthrop says, "Upon view of the place, it was agreed by all, that to build a fort there would be of too great charge and of little use;" for the place was nearly nine miles from Boston. Attention was afterwards directed to the fortification of Castle Island.

Johnson very naturally fell into these mistakes. He had gone back to England in the Summer of 1631. When he returned five years later, the only fortification in the harbor was on Castle Island. He was subsequently one of the Committee having this Fort in charge. When he informed himself of its history, he learned that the subscription for it was raised,¹ and the work commenced, in the Spring of 1634. Hearing the story of Winthrop's adventure, he inferred that it occurred in "the vernall of 1634," at Castle Island.

The barrenness of personal incident in his narrative from 1632 to 1635, both inclusive, is noticeable. This narrative comprises thirty pages. Eight of these are verses. About the same number are devoted to biographical notices of persons with whom he associated after he returned. The remainder is taken up chiefly with descriptions of towns, not as they were at the dates in the heading of the pages, but as they were some fifteen years later, when he wrote the book. One chapter (xxix. on p. 64) is exclusively on English matters; being an account of what happened to Mr. John Norton and Mr. Thomas Shepard in Yarmouth, Eng., in 1634-5. On p. 74, he describes Mr. John Wilson's trials on his third voyage to England in 1635. The few personal incidents, during these five years, which he undertakes to relate, contain errors such as have been described. He hesitates, under these dates, to discuss important topics. On p. 53 (1632), "their Government is by the Author deferred till the year 1637. where the Reader

¹ Col. Rec. i. 113.

“may behold Government both in Churches and Common-wealth.” His narrative for the first two years after he returned (1636-7) fills sixty pages.

Of his life during these years of absence, there is no direct testimony. We know that he returned with his family, in 1636, a zealous Puritan, and in full sympathy with the religious system of the Massachusetts Colony. His ruling motive was no longer in business or pleasure, but in building up a Puritan Commonwealth in this Western World. It is not difficult for the reader to fill out, from the broken incidents and separated fragments which surround it, this hiatus in his personal history.

Having been welcomed by his family and his neighbors at Herne Hill, and, with his craving for adventure fully satiated, he probably returned to the duties of his farm and his merchandise; hardly imagining that he would one day, with his family, join that Colony of self-sacrificing religionists in New-England. As, on the Christmas eve of 1631, he gathered his young family about him before his blazing hearth in dear old England, his mind might have reverted to the Christmas eve of 1630, which he had spent in an Indian wigwam, shivering with cold, or drenched with rain. He might have related to that inquisitive and sympathizing circle, how he had seen, the previous winter, women and little children pinched with cold and hunger; how he had himself eaten “parch’t Indian corn incht out with Chestnuts and bitter Acorns” (p. 173); how “the Women once a day, as the tide gave way, “reforted to the Muffells, and Clambankes, where they daily “gathered their Families food;” how one man “travailed as far “as Plimoth (which is neere 40 miles) and with great toile “brought a little Corne home with him” (p. 49). Is it strange that we should know nothing of Edward Johnson for the next five years? What would his wife and children have thought, if he had then expressed an intention of taking them to New-England?

Before resolving on this step, a radical change must have taken place in his character and opinions.

Events soon occurred in England which were calculated to produce such a change. Puritanism, as a political power, was the offspring of persecution. When Robinson and his company of Pilgrims took refuge in Holland from the persecution of James I., Edward Johnson was not old enough for these events to make any impression on his mind. After he grew up to manhood, though the principle of religious oppression had not been abandoned, dissenters were allowed comparative toleration. The early years of the reign of Charles I. were marked with moderation towards the despised nonconformists. Winthrop's company embarked at Southampton for Massachusetts Bay, in 1630, with as little interference, on the part of the civil authorities, as a passenger would meet to-day on going aboard a Cunard steamer at Liverpool. This state of quietude passed away during the five years Johnson was absent from New-England. Reports that alarmed the High-church party came back from America. Episcopacy had been suppressed at Salem by Governor Endicott; all the churches gathered at the Bay were nonconformist; the prayer-book and the church ritual were not tolerated; marriages were celebrated by magistrates, and not by the clergy; and no deference was paid to the ecclesiastical laws and usages of England. The malcontents sent back to England poured their complaints into the willing ears of the hierarchy. Gorges and Mason, jealous of the growth of the Massachusetts Colony, and chagrined that their colonies received no accessions, re-echoed these complaints. The fact most alarming to Laud was the quality and extent of the emigration to New-England. The best and most enterprising men were leaving England, and in such numbers as justly to awaken solicitude, — three thousand souls in a single year. Ministers suspected of nonconformity were again deprived of their

livings, insulted, and driven from place to place. Preaching in secluded spots, as occasions presented, they gathered a harvest of converts to those free principles which were soon to overturn the Stuart dynasty, and to establish a Puritan Commonwealth in England.

Captain Johnson, then in England, could not have been an uninterested spectator of these events, even if he had no religious sympathy with the persecuted dissenters. The fact that he had been in New-England, and had made himself familiar with its physical features and natural resources, must have brought him in contact with some of the eminent nonconforming clergymen who were intending to remove to America. They would seek his acquaintance for the information he had to impart. The whole dissenting mind of England turned towards America, and was athirst for knowledge respecting the country. "A letter from New-England was venerated 'as a sacred script, or as the writing of some holy prophets, and was carried many miles, where divers came to hear it.'"¹ From contact with these eminent and devoted men, he doubtless imbibed their religious opinions, and became a convert to the faith of the Puritans.²

¹ Bancroft, i. 382, quoting Old Planters' Narrative, 17.

² From the manner in which he speaks, in several instances, of Mr. Thomas Shepard, it seems probable that Johnson knew him in England, and may have regarded him as instrumental in his own conversion. He is "that gracious sweete Heavenly minded, and soule-ravishing Minister," . . . "a man of a thousand, indued with abundance of true saving knowledge for himself and others" (p. 77). Of him "it may be said, without any wrong to others, the Lord by his ministry hath saved many a hundred soul" (p. 164). "Thoufands of souls have caufe to blefs God for him, even at this

very day, who are the Seale of his Ministry" (p. 77). Of no other minister does he speak in such strong and affectionate terms.

Mr. Shepard arrived in Boston Oct. 3, 1635. That they knew each other in England is probable, also, from the account Johnson gives, on p. 64, of the attempts to arrest Shepard and Norton before they took passage for New-England. The first act that Johnson records of himself, after arriving in New-England, was visiting Cambridge to hear Mr. Shepard preach; and the melting emotions he experienced during the sermon (so pathetically described on page 103) indicate that his own feelings towards the

Mr. Savage, when in England in 1842, found, in the London Institution, the "History of Sandwich," by William Boys, printed at Canterbury in 1792. In this work, under the date of 1636, is "A true roll or list of names, surnames and qualities of "all such persons who had taken passage from the town and port "of Sandwich for the American Plantations since the last certificate of such passengers returned to the office of Dover "Castle."¹ In this list is —

"Edward Johnson, of Canterbury, joiner, and Susan, his wife, seven children, three servants."

That this person was the subject of our sketch there can be no doubt; for his Will and other records show that the Christian name of his wife was Susan (sometimes written Susannah), and that he had seven children.²

Sandwich was to Herne Hill the nearest seaport at which there was foreign trade. He gave his residence as Canterbury, although he lived six miles from that city. He might have done this for the purpose of evading inquiry; but more likely the custom existed then, as in our day, for travelers to give an adjacent city as their place of residence. The three servants he took with him went probably as laborers, and not as personal servants; for the latter would indicate to the inspectors of emigration that he was a wealthy man. In the list where Captain Johnson's name appears, no person gave an occupation above that of mechanic or yeoman.

He probably embarked from Sandwich in the spring of 1636, and arrived as early as midsummer. The minute account he

preacher had much to do in producing the impression.

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. 275-6.

² The Charlestown Records give a List of the inhabitants of the town in January,

1635-6 (Frothingham's History of Charlestown, p. 85). In this List Captain Johnson's name does not appear, but it is found in the Records of the next year.

gives of a visit to Canonicus (pp. 109*, 110*) indicates that he was one of the party. He describes how the old Sachem appeared, what he gave his visitors to eat, how the conference was held, and what was said. This was precisely the kind of expedition suited to his taste; and he never lost an opportunity of indulging in this sort of adventure. Edward Gibbons and John Higginson were the only persons in the party whose names are given. Johnson's experience with the Indians, acquired on his trading expeditions among them, and his military knowledge, would make him an acceptable volunteer. The expedition started on the 8th, and returned on the 13th, of August, 1636.¹ Gibbons and Higginson were paid for their services, October 25, 1636.²

Captain Johnson arrived at Boston when the memorable Antinomian controversy was in its most exciting phase. Anne Hutchinson had set the town in uproar by her peculiar views, and she was defended by some of the most eminent persons in the Colony. At the Court of Election, in May, 1636, the young and accomplished Henry Vane had been chosen Governor, to the eminent disgust of the supporters of the staid and judicious Winthrop. Vane supported the views of Mrs. Hutchinson. Her minister (Mr. John Cotton), two of the magistrates (Mr. Dummer and Mr. Coddington), several of the deputies, military men, and leading citizens, took sides with her in this strange controversy. Mr. John Wheelwright, her brother-in-law, arrived in June, 1636, and made her cause his own. All the other clergy of New-England, and the churches out of Boston, took the opposite side, and denounced her opinions as heresy. The subtleties of theology

¹ Winthrop, i. 192.

² Col. Rec. i. 181. To Gibbons, afterwards Major-General, in command of all the militia of the Colony, Johnson often

alludes in friendly terms. Their acquaintance began on this expedition. The date, 1637, in the heading of pages 109*, 110*, is an error.

and metaphysics were on everybody's tongue, and were discussed with an excitement and a personal bitterness that we, at the present day, can hardly appreciate. Johnson devotes a chapter (p. 101) to "the forrowfull complaint of a poore Soule at landing" in the midst of this noisy squabble. No wonder that the poor man, in the din of contending voices, was nearly beside himself, and that "hee betooke him to a narrow Indian path for ferious Meditations, where none but fenceless Trees and eccohing Rocks make "anfwer to his heart-eafeing mone" (p. 102). He evidently never comprehended the new dispensation; but, understanding well the old landmarks, he opposed the Antinomians with all the energy of his being. Nearly forty pages of his book are devoted to this unintelligible subject, and serve as a curious illustration of the intensity of feeling exhibited in that controversy.

He must have taken up his residence in Charlestown soon after landing. In the chapter just alluded to, where he describes the bewilderment of "a poore foule," he speaks of localities which can apply only to Charlestown as the place from which he started. He went out on a narrow Indian path, absorbed in mournful meditations over the mysterious doctrine of a "naked Christ." He then changed his direction, and "turning his face "to the sun [the south-west, it is a summer afternoon] he steered "his course toward the next Town, and after some small travell "hee came to a large plaine, no sooner was hee entred thereon, "but hearing the found of a Drum (they had as yet no Bell to "call men to meeting) he was directed toward it by a broad "beaten way," and soon arrived at Mr. Shepard's meeting-house in Cambridge. Whoever will take an afternoon drive from Charlestown to Cambridge will recognize the localities here described. He could not have started from Boston; for then there were no bridges over the Charles or the Mystic River.

His name first appears in the Charlestown Records (with the

title of "Captain"), in 1637, as a proprietor of land. His name next appears, in 1638, in the division of land on "Myftic Side," now Malden; and, except in connection with his property, the division of lands, &c., his name is not found in the Charlestown Records before 1640. He therefore took no active part either in the civil or the ecclesiastical affairs of the town. This fact seems singular, in view of the prominent position he subsequently held, in both these relations, at Woburn. He did not even unite with the church at Charlestown during the six years he resided there. Some personal reasons, which we cannot ascertain, may have prompted this course: but I think, that, from the first, he considered Charlestown only a temporary place of abode; and that he intended to engage in the enterprise of planting a new town. His appointment by the Charlestown Church, as one of the Committee for "the erecting of a church and town" at Woburn, is a full endorsement of his religious standing at that period. While in Charlestown, he resided on "Crooked Lane," now Bow Street.

The General Court, May 13, 1640, on the petition of Charlestown, made a grant for a new town, "two miles on their head line, provided it fall not within the bounds of Linn Village [Reading] and that they build within two years."¹ On the 7th of October following, the tract was enlarged to four miles square;² and, previous to its incorporation, it was called "Charlestown Village."

Captain Johnson was the first "Recorder" or Town Clerk of Woburn; and the following extracts³ from the early records of the town — which are in his own handwriting — show not

¹ Col. Rec. i. 290.

² Idem, i. 306.

with the 25th of March. The first date mentioned is therefore not the 14th of March, but the 14th of May, 1640.

³ As regards the dates, it will be remembered, that, in old style, the year commenced

only the part which he took in the work, but also the mode in which an early Massachusetts town was settled:—

[EXTRACTS FROM THE TOWN RECORDS OF WOBURN.]

1640. 14 of 3 mo.—A True Relation of the proceedings of Edward Conuars, Edward Johnson, John Mousall, Mr. Thomas Graues, Samuwel Richison, and Thomas Richison, chosen by the church of Charlestown for the erecting of a church and town, which accordingly, by great labor, was by them performed, and now called the Town of Woburne.

In this year 1640, in the 3 mo., news was brought of the conveniency of land now adjoining to Charlestown. Forthwith a petition was framed to the General Court, then holden, for two miles of land square, to be added to the head line of Charlestown, which accordingly was granted, and afterward was increased to four miles square.

15 of 3 mo.—Mr. Increase Nowell [Magistrate], Mr. Zachariah Sims [Minister], Edward Johnson, Edward Conuars, Ezekill Richison, Samuwel Richison, and Robart Halle, together with Mr. Hubard, artist, searched the land lying within the two miles square.

6 of 7 mo.—Noble Captain Sedgwicke,² Ensigne Palmer, Thomas Lins,

¹ These extracts, never before printed, are given, with the exception of proper names, in modern orthography and punctuation.

² Captain Robert Sedgwick was one of the notable, as well as *noble*, men of his time. "He was," says Johnson (p. 192), "stout and active in all feats of war, nurft "up in Londons Artillery Garden, and fured with . . . the help of a very good "head-piece." Having filled various civil and military positions, he was elected in May, 1652, Major-General in command of all the militia of the Colony. Soon after, he went to England, and was appointed by Cromwell to the conduct of several important and successful expeditions. He died May 24, 1656, at the West Indies, where he was in command of the English army. Many of his letters to Cromwell

are preserved in Thurloe's State Papers (vols. ii, iv., v.). Mr. Frothingham has given an interesting sketch of his life in the History of Charlestown (pp. 135-139).

It is a noticeable coincidence that the two most eminent and active associates of Captain Johnson in the early proceedings for the settlement of the Town of Woburn—General Sedgwick and Rear-Admiral Thomas Graves (see note, p. lxxxiii.)—left the enterprise before its consummation; and, returning to England, were appointed to high military and naval positions in the forces of Cromwell. Perhaps Captain Johnson alludes to them in the following lines of his poetical introduction to the Woburn Records (see note, p. lxxxvi.):—

"One leaves her quite, an other hee doth hie
To foren lands free from the Babys Crye."

Edward Johnson, Edward Conuars, John Mousall, and others, went to view the bounds between Linne Village and this town, like Jacobites, laying them down to rest when night drew on, now preserved by the good hand of God with cheerful spirits, though the heavens poured down rain all night incessantly. One remarkable Providence, never to be forgotten. Some of the company lay under the body of a great tree, it lying some distance from the earth. When the daylight appeared, no sooner was the last man come from under it, but it fell down to their amazement, [they] being forced to dig out their food that was caught under it, it being so ponderous that all the strength they had could not remove it.

30 of 7 mo. — The parties aforesaid met at Linne, and lay there all night. Next day, drew Linne men to the confines of their bounds, endeavoring to point the divisional line between their new town and this.

5 of 9 mo. — The persons above specified, now chosen by the Church of Charlestown, chosen for the carrying-on of the affairs of the new town.

9 of 9 mo. — These persons, associating to them Edward Johnson, who continued with them during the whole work, went to discover the land about Shawshin River; being lost, were forced to lie under the rocks, whilst the rain and snow did bedew their rocky beds.

17 of 9 mo. — A meeting was held to set a division between Charlestown and Woburne, which was in part assented to, but afterward denied.

23 of 9 mo. — The Church of Charlestown meet to consider of those that should go up to this town; and, seeing many appear, fearing the depopulation of Charlestown, from that day forward had a suspicious eye over them.

3 of 10 mo. — Full power was given to Edward Conuars and company to go on with the work.

22 of 10 mo. — Considering the weightiness of the work and the weakness of the persons, this day was set apart for humble seeking of God by prayer and fasting for help in a work of so great consequence, which was performed at the house of John Mousall, by the fore-named persons and their wives, the Lord assisting.

18 of 10 mo. — The first meeting of these persons for this work was at Mr. Thomas Graues, where Town Orders were concluded on for the better carrying-on of the work.

At which meeting Edward Johnson was appointed Recorder, who drew a plot of the town.

TOWN ORDERS.

The free fruition of such liberties and privileges as humanity, civility, and christianity calls for, as due to every man, with his place and proportion, without

impeachment and infringing, which hath ever been, and ever will be, the tranquillity and stability of Christian Commonwealths; and the denial or the deprivation thereof, the disturbance, if not the ruin, of both.¹

We hold it, therefore, our duty and safety, for the better disposing of all lands and benefits of the town of Woburne, and for the preventing of all troublesome complaints, and the maintainance of love and agreement, it is required that all persons admitted to be inhabitants in the said town shall by voluntary agreement subscribe to these orders following; upon which conditions, they are admitted:—

First Order.—For the carrying-on common charges, all such persons as shall be thought meet to have land and admittance for inhabitants shall pay for every acre of land formerly laid out by Charlestown, but now in the limits of Woburne, sixpence; and, for all hereafter laid out, twelvecence.

Second Order.—Every person taking lot or land in the said town shall, within fifteen months after the laying-out of the same, build for dwelling thereon, and improve the said land by planting either in part or in whole; or surrender the same up to the town again. Also, they shall not make sale of it to any person but such as the town shall approve of.

Third Order.—That all manner of persons shall fence their cattle of all sorts, either by fence or keeper; only it is required, all garden-plots and orchards shall be well inclosed, either by pale or otherwise.

Fourth Order.—That no manner of person shall entertain inmate, either married or other, for longer time than three days, without the consent of four of the select men; every person offending in this particular shall pay to the use of the town, for every day they offend therein, sixpence.²

Fifth Order.—That no person shall fell or cut any young oak, like to be good timber, under eight inches square, upon forfeiture of five shillings for every such offense.

¹ This Preamble is substantially a copy of the Preamble of “The Liberties of the Massachusetts Colonie,” prepared by Mr. Nathaniel Ward, and adopted in 1641. This point is further noticed on p. ci.

² Many cases occur in the records of the enforcement of this order. The following is a specimen:—

“George Polly, warned to appear before the selectmen for entertaining inmates, came and gave answer that he would entertain them, for all the townsmen; and

“that the woman should not go out of town for any of them. The selectmen accordingly laid distress on George Polly’s estate to the value of eight shillings. Polly coming and acknowledging, and promising to clear the town of the said inmates by the next second day at night, the Constable was ordered to respite his distress; but in case the said Polly did not go on to perform his promise, then to go on and levy the eight shillings for the town’s use.”

[In margin.] These persons subscribed to these orders: —

Edward Johnfon.	Mr. Thomas graves.	Will Greene.
Edward Conuars.	Nicholas dauis.	Benjamen Butter ffield.
John moufall.	Nicholas Treerice.	Henry Jests.
Ezekill Richifon.	John Carter.	Jams Parker.
Samuwell Richifon.	Jams Conuars.	John Ruffell.
Thomas Richifon.	danill Bacon.	Jams Britton.
William Lernerdt.	Edward winne.	Thomas ffuller.
Jams Thomfon.	Henry Belden.	Richard Lowden.
John Wright.	frances Kendall.	John wyman.
Michall Bacon.	John Teed.	frances wyman. ¹
John Seers.	Henry Tottingham.	

4 of 11 mo. — Meeting at Edward Conuars house, where were admitted many persons to set down their dwellings in this town; yet, being shallow in brains, fell off afterwards. At this meeting, Mr. George Bunker² surrendered up his lot to the town's disposal, and had recompense.

10 of 12 mo. — The first bridge was laid over Abersonce River, over against Edward Conuars house, and called Could Bridg.

12 of 12 mo. — Meeting at Samuwell Richisons, where Mr. [Jonathan] Burr was thought of meet to help in the main of church work. Mr. [John] Knowls, of the east, was spoken of, and more were admitted to inhabit this town.

8 of 12 mo. — The men appointed for this town affairs traveled to discover a fitting place to lay this town out. After two days' search, it was, by the greater number, thought meet to be laid out on the east end of the land granted to this town, which accordingly was done after two days more.

13 of 12 mo. — Meeting at Ezekill Richisons, where they that at present

¹ Of the thirty-two persons in the above list, ten were then freemen; twelve others were admitted during the next seven years, and ten appear never to have been made freemen. In the first recorded tax-list of Woburn, September, 1645, all the above names appear, except three. Of these, the name of Henry Belden appears in the tax-list of 1646. Another, Mr. Thomas Graves (at whose house the Town Orders were enacted), was, in 1643, master of the "Trial,"

the first ship built in Boston (Winthrop, ii. 154), and was afterwards one of Cromwell's Rear-Admirals (Frothingham's Charlestown, 139). He followed the sea till his death in 1653, which explains the fact of his not settling in Woburn. The third, Richard Lowden, admitted freemen in 1642, remained in Charlestown, where he died July 12, 1700, at the age of 88.

² Bunker Hill took its name from this person, he being its owner.

did intend to dwell in this town, came, and were appointed to meet at the new laid-out town the next third day [Tuesday] following. In the afternoon of the same day, they had a meeting before Mr. [Increase] Nowell, Mr. [Zacariah] Sims, and others, who gave them no small discouragement.

16 of 12 mo. — The persons appointed came to the place, to the number of forty, where the new town should have been placed, marking trees and laying bridges. The way being so plain backward that divers never went forward again.

29 of 12 mo. — Mr. Nowell, Capt. Sedgwick, Lieut. Sprage, and some others, by Charlestown appointed, advised to remove the house-lots and place for the meeting-house to the place where they now stand.

1641. 2 of 1 mo. — Mr. Burr's friends came up to view the plantation; and, the sixth of the first month, lots were first laid out in the place appointed.

17 of 1 mo. — Divers went to Dochester, to Mr. Burr, of whom they received good encouragement to go on. God would provide.

20 of 1 mo. — Mr. Burr's friends came again, and brought men with them to view the land, especially the meadow.

10 of 3 mo. — Meeting at Thomas Richisons. Mr. Burr declined, and most hearts grew faint; notwithstanding, the 13th of the same month more lots were laid out.

24 of 3 mo. — Mr. Burr's friends came again with fresh men, whose minds were much for meadow, and their judgments short in what they saw.

29 of 3 mo. — Mr. Thomas Graues and Edward Johnson were sent to Mr. Burr, who was loth to give a full answer.¹

25 of 6 mo. — Things going heavily on, and many blocks in the way, especially some of their own company disheartening, this day was set apart for humble seeking the Lord by fasting and prayer, whom they found gracious in keeping up the spirits of some to the work.

26 of 6 mo. — A bridge was made across Hornepond River; though the place was so boggy that it swallowed up much wood before it could be made passable; yet it was finished, and called Longe Bridg.

25 of 8 mo. — Two messengers went to Rouilly [Rowley] to Mr. [John] Miller, who found Mr. [Ezekiel] Roggers loth to part with him.

3 of 9 mo. — Mr. [Thomas] Carter was spoken to, who was the first named, but the last spoken with, doubting Watertown's parting with him.

¹ Mr. Burr died in two months and ten days from this date. Thomas Hooker said of him, "Surely this man will not be long out of Heaven, for he preaches as if he were there already." (Sprague's Annals, i. 124.)

7 of 9 mo. — The Church of Charlestown was spoken unto for their meeting on the Sabbath at this town, having sure encouragement from Mr. Carter to help them the 21st of the same month. Mr. Sims preached his first sermon in this town out of the 4th of Jeremiah and the 3d verse.

4 of 10 mo. — Mr. Carter preached his first sermon at this town out of the 22d of Genesis, encouraging to trust in the Lord for the means.

19 of 10 mo. — They were all at Mr. Carters, who was very backward to promise any thing, but only to be helpful to them at some times, which was very seldom.

1642. 1 of 1 mo. — Minister's house began, with strong resolutions and lively spirits, through the mercy of God, though means very weak. The 25th day of the same, they went to Mr. Carter, who was very shy in promising help constantly.

11 of 2 mo. — Some now sent to Mr. [George] Phillips [of Watertown], who did not much encourage them about Mr. Carter.

14 of 2 mo. — Mr. Carter was entreated to spend a day of humiliation among them; after the which, they had some good encouragement, and he helped two Sabbath days together after it.

16 of 3 mo. — They were disheartened by two of their company taking of council.

5 of 4 mo. — They moved for admission from Charlestown Church, upon some hope they had of Mr. Carter's help. They found them backward, and were put off for fourteen days; at which time, after much agitation, they had liberty to gather a church.

14 of 6 mo. — A church gathered at Woburne in presence of Mr. Increase Nowell, Magistrate, and Mr. [John] Wilson [of Boston], Mr. [Zechariah] Sims [of Charlestown], Mr. [Thomas] Allen [of Charlestown], Mr. [Henry] Dunster [President of Harvard College], Mr. [John] Knowlles [of Watertown], Mr. [Thomas] Carter, and divers other godly and faithful ministers of Christ [Mr. John Cotton, of Boston; Mr. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge; Mr. John Allin, of Dedham; Mr. John Eliot, of Roxbury; and Mr. Richard Mather, of Dorchester¹], who held out the right hand of fellowship, in the name of the other churches, to the persons gathered; namely, John Moussall, Edward Johnson, Edward Conuars, William Lernet, Ezekill Richison, Samuwel Richison, and Thomas Richison.

22 of 9 mo. — Mr. Thomas Carter ordained Pastor of the Church of Christ,

¹ See the list in *Wonder-working Providence* (p. 178), where, from errors in the punctuation, their places of residence are strangely commingled.

at Woburne, in presence of the fore-named persons, Mr. Knowls excepted, who held out the right hand of fellowship to him.¹

1643. 9 of 9 mo. — At a public town meeting, by consent of the town, it was ordered, that, if any man shall absent himself from a public meeting without a lawful excuse, he shall pay 18 pence to the use of the town.

[In margin.] The First Choice of Selectmen.

1644. 13 of 2 mo. — It was ordered, by the general consent of the whole freemen and inhabitants there present, that a yearly choice shall be made of seven men, or a lesser number hereafter, when the town is more settled, which shall be chosen out of the freemen of this town, who shall have power to order the prudential affairs thereof, according to the liberties and privileges granted to the several towns in this jurisdiction; their power continuing to the next first third day of the week in the first month in the next year, on which day a new choice shall be made; provided that those men which shall be chosen do at all times give public notice when any rate or assessment is to be made upon the inhabitants, to the end men may show their grievance, if any be, and mutual love and agreement may be continued by taking off the burden from the oppressed.

¹ *A fac simile* of the handwriting of Capt. Johnson in the last two paragraphs fronts the titlepage. To this has been added a specimen of his handwriting in 1652.

Capt. Johnson commenced the Woburn Records, under the date of December 8, 1640, with the following doggerel verse, alluded to on p. xxiv., which has an historical interest as showing his habits of composition nearly ten years before he wrote his book. It is here given precisely as it stands in the record. The *Towne* is supposed to be speaking in the first person singular.

RECORDS FOR THE TOWNE OF WOBURNE
ffrom the year 1640 : the : 8 : day of th : 10 month
Paulifper Fui

In peniles age I woburne Towne began ;
Charles Towne first moued the Court my lins to span
To vewe my land place compild body Reare
Nowell ; Sims Sedgwick thes my paterons were :
Sum fearing Ile grow great upon these grounds
Poor I wafe putt to nurs among the Clownes
Who being taken with fuch mighty things
As had bin work of Noble Queens and Kings

Till Babe gan crye and great disturbance make
Nurfes Repent they did har undertake
One leaves her quite an other hee doth hie
To foren lands free from the Babys Crye
To more of feauen feeing nurfing proud soe thwarte
Thought it more eafe : in following of the Carte
A nighbour by hopeing the Babe wold bee
A pritty Girle to Rocking har went hee
Too nurfes lefs undanted then the rest
ffirst houes ffinish thus the Girle gane drest
Its Rare to fee how this poore Towne did rise
By weakefs means two weake in great ons eyes
And fure it is that mettells cleere extraction
Had neuer share in this Poore Towns exrection
Without which metall and fum fresh suply
Patrons conclud the neuer upp wold rise
If ever she mongft ladys haue a station
Say twas ffrom Parentes : not har education
And now conclud the lords owne hand it wafe
That with weak means did bring this work to pafs
Not only Towne but Siffor church to ade
Which out of duft and Ashes now is had
Then all Inhabit woburne Towne stay make
The lord : not means of all you undertake.

It is probable, from allusions therein, that the above was written as late as 1642.

Secondly, If it shall come to pass, through the divers occurrence of town affairs which the said men shall have to do with, any scruple of conscience do arise, they shall repair to the elder or elders of the church in the said town for advice.

Thirdly, They shall not alter any man's propriety without his free consent.

Fourthly, They shall meet once a month, at the least; and all orders concluded by the major part of them, for the good of the town, shall be left under their hands in writing.

Lastly, They shall give up an account at in public, at the year's end, of disbursements and disposure of the town's land and stock.

[In margin.] Selectmen chosen the 13 of 2 mo., 1644.

<i>Selectmen.</i>		<i>For Constable.</i>
Edward Johnson.	Ezekill Richison.	William Lerved.
Edward Conuars.	Samuwell Richison.	<i>For Surveyors.</i>
John Mousall.	Jams Tompson.	Michall Bacon.
William Lerved.		Ralph hill.
		Thomas Richison.

1644 [-5]. — This year there fell a very great snow near the spring; and some, willing to redeem time, made choice of new men to do the town's business within the year [1645], on the 19 of the 12 mo., 1644. [The second board of town officers were the same as the first, except that John Wright was appointed Selectman in the place of James Tompson.]

1645. 8 of 7 mo. — It is ordered that those which are chosen deputies, for to serve at the General Court, shall have sixpence for every day's service they spend at the Court, as well for what is past as what is to come, besides their diet.

[A question arose, as early as 1640 (17 of 9 mo., see p. lxxxi), as to the boundary lines between Woburn and Charlestown, which was not finally adjusted till January, 1651-2. In reference to this business, the following letter was sent to the Selectmen of Charlestown, in March, 1646-7. It was probably drawn by Captain Johnson, and is a model of courteous diplomacy. The original orthography is retained in the letter.]

[In margin.] Woburnes Letter to Charlestown Men.

1646. 17 of 1 mo. — Agreed to send to the Select men of Charlestown the letter following: —

To our much respected and much approued good freinds of Charlstowne chofen
to order the prudentiall Affaiers therof

Much Respected and Aintient freinds :

Wee are Bould to interupt your prefant precious Impliments with Request for Issue of those things which fartaîne of our Beloued Brethren among you were chofen unto, now our humble Request is that they may End it forth with, if other wise they cannot so doe our further Request is that fume others untrested in the things may put a freindly Issue to the same, our last Request is that if nether of these will doe then in a brotherly and freindly way to petition to the generall court that wee may not bequeth mator of diferanc to our posterity, thus with hope of a prefant answer in writting to our foe Refanabl Request

Wee Remain yours to be commanded
in all faruis of loue in Christ our Lord.

1646. 29 of 7 mo. — At which time Edward Johnson received from the town, for his time spent at the General Court and some other expenses, four pound thirteen shillings; the last Court of Election, and all the sessions thereof, being yet unaccounted for.

[In margin.] An order and penalty for non-appearance at a general town meeting: Ordered, That all public meetings, after they are begun, shall continue till by a major part they break up.

[In opposite margin, in handwriting of Major William Johnson.] The 10 of 12 mo., 1673, this order was further confirmed by a major vote of the inhabitants present; also the time of appearing, on the day of choice, to be nine of the clock in the morning.

1648. 27 of 12 mo. — It was agreed and ordered, by the consent of the whole town, that the last third day of the 12th month, from year to year, shall be the day for choice of all such usual officers as are in the town's power to choose; at which time the inhabitants are to meet without warning, as also to choose deputies to the General Court. And, further, it is agreed, that, if any inhabitant shall fail of making his appearance by eight of the clock in the morning, every such person shall pay to the use of the town two shillings; the like generally to be imposed on all such as shall absent themselves above one quarter of an hour without leave of the assembly, and also the like generally to be imposed at any town meeting for non-appearance of any, or absence, the meeting being duly warned.

1664. 7 of 1 mo. — It is ordered and agreed by the selectmen of this town, that all inhabitants shall have liberty, at any general town meeting, to declare, either by word or writing, any grievance that may be upon their spirits; provided it be done orderly, and by law of him that is to order speech and silence; and that whosoever shall disorderly speak, or go on to take up the time unnecessarily, shall pay to the use of the town five shillings for every such offense.

After the town was fully organized, Captain Johnson's record of town matters was very brief, and, in some instances, evidently superficial. Perhaps he was so fully occupied in other public business that he had not time to give the records proper attention. From this cause, in the latter part of his life, disputes arose with regard to land titles. Grants made by the town were sometimes not recorded; and, in other instances, the description was so vague as to occasion controversy.

The subject was finally referred to the General Court for adjustment. A petition, signed by twenty-five of the inhabitants, dated October 7, 1667, commenced thus: "May it please this honorable Court to vouchsafe some help to our town of Woburn in dividing a lump of this wildernes earth." The Court considered the matter; and, on the 31st of the same month, "finding great disorder in the town, especially touching their town book and keeping of their records, judge it very needful that a Committee of this Court be fully impowered for the regulation thereof, and settling all differences amongst them depending thereupon." (Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 355.) A Committee was appointed, who reporting, "do find that their votes passed, and are on record in their town book, do not so clearly express the intent of the voters as may legally determine the matter;" and hence they recommend certain measures by which the questions in dispute are settled. This affair seems not to have impaired the confidence and esteem in which Captain Johnson was held by his fellow-townsmen; for they continued to elect him

Town Clerk, Deputy, and generally Selectman, as long as he lived.

His records, during his thirty years of service, cover only thirty-six pages. The records of his son, Major William Johnson, who succeeded him as Clerk, and who began immediately to bring up the arrears with regard to land titles, cover for the first year (1672) fourteen pages.

The full description of the settlement of Woburn and of the church-gathering, which Captain Johnson has given in his book (pp. 175-181), and in the town records, is an important contribution to the early history of New-England; and shows, perhaps more minutely than any other original account, the precise manner in which the early towns were planted. These local organizations were based on no analogies in the English, or other European system. They were the natural outgrowth of the character, the principles, and the necessities of our ancestors. Before there was any colonial legislation on the subject, these little commonwealths, in which local self-government was assumed, were established. The General Court had merely to recognize them, and define their privileges. They are to-day the distinguishing features of New-England, and are found in portions of the Middle and Western States where New-England ideas have penetrated.

As religion was the first subject considered in founding the Massachusetts Colony, so it was in the planting of towns. Before any steps were taken for making a new settlement, a sufficient number of persons were enlisted in the enterprise to enable them to set up and maintain the ordinances of religion.

“Now,” says Johnson (p. 177), “to declare how this people proceeded in religious matters, and so consequently all the Churches of Christ planted in New-England, when they came once to hopes of being such a competent

“number of people, as might be able to maintain a Minister, they then surely
 “feared themselves, and not before, it being as unnatural for a right N. E. man
 “to live without an able Ministry, as for a Smith to work his iron without a
 “fire: therefore this people that went about placing down a Town, began the
 “foundation-stone, with earnest seeking of the Lords assistance, by humbling of
 “their souls before him in daies of prayer, and imploring his aid in so weighty
 “a work. Then they address themselves to attend counsel of the most Ortho-
 “dox and ablest Christians, and more especially of such as the Lord had already
 “placed in the Ministry, not rashly running together themselves into a Church,
 “before they had hopes of attaining an Officer to preach the Word, and ad-
 “minister the Seals unto them, choosing rather to continue in fellowship with
 “some other Church for their Christian watch over them, till the Lord would
 “be pleased to provide.”

Before the incorporation of the town of Woburn, the date of which was September 27, 1642,¹ all those preliminary steps had been taken. A meeting-house and a parsonage had been erected, a pastor chosen, and his support provided for.

Their ecclesiastical polity, from the first, was Congregational, rather than Independent. In the gathering of churches, it was not customary to admit the whole body of believers, but seven discreet persons, previously designated; who, after a rigid personal examination, received the fellowship of the neighboring churches, and constituted, for the time being, the Church. Others were subsequently admitted. Captain Johnson was one of the discreet seven. He thus describes their examination (p. 178):—

“The persons stood forth, and first confessed what the Lord had done for
 “their poor souls, by the work of his Spirit in the preaching of his Word, and
 “Providences, one by one; (and that all might know their faith in Christ was
 “bottomed upon him, as he is revealed in his Word, and that from their own
 “knowledge) they also declare the same, according to that measure of under-
 “standing the Lord had given them; the Elders, or any other messengers there
 “present question with them, for the better understanding of them in any points

¹ Col. Rec. ii. 28.

(Am. Quar. Reg. xi. 187), erroneously give
 Mr. Chickering (p. 15), and Mr. Sewall May 18, 1642, as the date of incorporation.

“they doubt of, which being done, and all satisfied, they in the name of the “Churches to which they do belong, hold out the right hand of fellowship unto “them, they declaring their Covenant, in words expressed in writing to this “purpose.”¹

The modest author of *Wonder-working Providence* was the most prominent person in this scrutinizing ordeal; and the account he then gave of his religious experience is what we need to illustrate this narrative. For the want of it, we must be content with his brief statement that the congregation and the assembled ministers were “all satisfied.”

The records of the Woburn Church, previous to 1755, are lost; but Captain Johnson informs us (p. 180), that, when the book was written, the membership had increased to seventy-four, of which “the greater part had been converted by the preaching of the “Word in New-England.” Twelve freemen, who were church-members, signed the Town Orders in 1640. Others joined the enterprise later. The wives and children, who were communicants, must have been as numerous as the heads of families. The early membership, therefore, of the Woburn Church, I think, was thirty persons, at least; and the number will compare favorably with that of a majority of the churches which are gathered at the present day.

The ordination of the pastor, Mr. Thomas Carter, who “had “been exercising his gifts of preaching and prayer among them “in the mean time,” did not take place at the church-gathering in August; but was delayed till the 22d of November, 1642, when the same ministers were again assembled. The town, in

¹ Two years later (September, 1644), a council met at Rowley for the ceremony of gathering the Haverhill and Andover churches. The persons who were to constitute the churches refused to declare publicly how the Lord had carried on the work

of grace in their hearts, on the ground that they had made this declaration when formerly admitted to other churches. The assembly thereupon broke up without accomplishing what was intended. (Winthrop, ii. 194; Hubbard, 416; Felt, i. 535.)

the mean time, had been incorporated. This delay gave an opportunity for the seven original "pillars" to examine and admit other candidates, that all might join in the services of the ordination.

A question arose at this ordination, on a point of Congregational usage, which, at the time, was the occasion of some feeling, and subsequently of discussion, in the churches of the Colony. The question was, who were the proper officials to administer the act of ordination. If the church had the usual officers (elders, or presbyters), these persons would have performed the act by the imposition of hands, notwithstanding some eight or ten ministers from the neighboring churches were present. But the church had no such officers; and hence the ceremony was performed by two of the lay brethren, one of whom doubtless was Captain Johnson himself. He thus describes the ceremony: "After he [the pastor elect] had exercised in preaching and prayer the greater part of the day, two persons in the name of the Church laid their hands upon his head and said 'We ordain thee Thomas Carter¹ to be Pastor unto this Church of Christ'; then one of the Elders Priest [misprint for *present*], being desired of the Church, continued in prayer," etc.

The question had evidently been considered beforehand; and the Church were firm in maintaining the right of lay ordination, in opposition to the well-known views of some of the ministers present. Governor Winthrop, who was not present, entered in

¹ Mr. Carter's settlement in Woburn continued for forty-two years, till his death, September 5, 1684, at the age of 74. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, England, and had his degrees in 1629-30 and 1633 (Savage, in Winthrop, ii. 91). "Thomas Carter, aged 25 years," embarked for New-England, at London, April 2, 1635, in the "Planter," Nicholas Terrice, master, in the assumed condition

of servant of George Giddins (Mass. Hist. Coll. xxviii. 254). The age of this person identifies him as the first Pastor of Woburn. Nicholas Terrice was one of the signers of the Woburn Town Orders, 1640; and he settled in Woburn. The passengers in the "Planter" brought certificates from the minister of Great St. Albans, in Hertfordshire, which may have been Mr. Carter's early residence.

his Journal, the same day they took place, his disapproval of these proceedings: —

“ 22 [November, 1642]. The village at the end of Charlestown bounds was called Woburn, where they had gathered a church, and this day Mr. Carter was ordained their pastor, with the assistance of the elders of other churches. Some difference there was about his ordination; some advised, in regard they had no elder of their own, nor any members very fit to solemnize such an ordinance, they would desire some of the elders of the other churches to have performed it; but others, supposing it might be an occasion of introducing a dependency of churches, etc., and so a presbytery, would not allow it. So it was performed by one¹ of their own members, but not so well and orderly as it ought.” (Savage’s Winthrop, ii. 91.)

Governor Winthrop’s type of Puritanism — and he represented the views of other leading minds of that period — was not in complete harmony with the popular sentiments of the Colony. He came into it, from the Church of England, without a shock, and with old associations still clinging to him.² The majority came into it by the stormy road of persecution; and their chief aim was to set up an ecclesiastical system as unlike as possible the one from which they had been driven. The ordination at Woburn was not, as Winthrop recorded, a disorderly proceeding; but was in conformity with Congregational usage at that time. Mr. Samuel Skelton and Mr. Francis Higginson were ordained at Salem, in 1629, “by three or four of the gravest members of the Church.”³ Mr. John Wilson was so ordained

¹ Winthrop says “it was performed by one;” Johnson says by “two persons.” Winthrop probably refers to the spokesman, and Johnson to the two laymen who joined in the imposition of hands. Johnson, being the most eminent citizen of the town, was doubtless the spokesman. Winthrop’s rather satirical remark that the church had no “members very fit to solemnize such an ordinance,” probably grew out of his dis-

approval of the act rather than from his knowledge of the actor. Johnson was not brought in official contact with the Governor till he became a Deputy to the General Court, one year later.

² Mr. R. C. Winthrop, in “Life and Letters of John Winthrop” (ii. 14), says the Governor “never renounced the communion of his fathers.”

³ Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 67.

at Charlestown in 1630. Mr. John Cotton, also, at Boston, in 1633, and Mr. Thomas Hooker at New-town, the same year, were ordained by laymen in the presence of the clergy. As the number of the clergy and of the churches increased, the practice gradually went out of use. In the Plymouth Colony, "Master Hooke received ordination [at Taunton] from the hands of one "mafter Bishop a schoolmafter, and one Parker an husbandman, "and then mafter Hooke joyned in ordaining mafter Streate."¹

Mr. John Cotton, in his "Way of the Churches in New-England," 1645, provides for a case like that at Woburn; and, having been present on the occasion, had it probably in mind when he wrote his chapter on Ordination, pp. 39-41. He says, —

"When therefore any of the Churches are destitute of any of these Officers, "the Brethren of the Church look out from amongst themselves, such persons "as are in some measure qualified. If the Church can finde out none such "in their own body, they send to any other Church for fit supply, and each "Church looketh at it as their dutie to be mutually helpfull one to another, in "yeelding what supply they may, without too much prejudice to themselves. . . . "Such being recommended to them for such a work, they take some time "of tryall of them. . . . For every man of good gifts is not alwayes endowed "with an honest and good heart; and every good heart is not fitted to close "(so fully as were meet) with every good people: Every Key is not fit to "open every Lock; nor every mans gift fit to edifie every people. . . . When "the day [of ordination] is come, it is kept as a day of humiliation, with "fasting, praying and preaching the Word, according to the patterne. "Towards the close of the day, one of the Elders of the Church (if it have "any) if not, one of the graver Brethren of the Church, (appointed by "themselves to order the worke of the day) standeth up and inquireth of the "Church, If now . . . they still continue in their purpose to elect such a one "for their Pastor, or Teacher, or Ruling Elder, whom before they agreed "upon. . . . He proceedeth to inquire into the approbation of the rest of "the Assembly. . . . Now seeing all is clear, he desireth all the Brethren "of that Church to declare their Election of him with one accord, by lifting

¹ Lechford, Plaine Dealing, 1642, 40.

“up their hands; which being done, he desireth to know of the partie
 “chosen whether he doth accept of that calling. . . . He then with the
 “Presbytery [Elders] of that Church (if it have any, if not two or three
 “others of the gravest Christians amongst the Brethren of that Church,
 “being deputed by the body) doe in the name of the Lord Jesus ordaine him
 “unto that Office, with imposition of hands, calling upon the Lord. . . . After
 “this the Elders of their Churches present, observing the presence of God, both
 “in the duties of that day performed by the Officer chosen and ordained, and in
 “the *orderly* proceeding of the Church in his Election and Ordination, one of
 “them, in the name of all the rest, doth give unto him the *right hand of*
 “*fellowship* in the sight of all the Assembly.”

Lechford, in “Plaine Dealing,” 1642 (p. 3), describes a New-England ordination as follows:—

“Then they set another day [subsequent to the church-gathering] for the
 “ordination of said officers, and appoint some of themselves to impose hands
 “upon their officers, which is done in a publique day of fasting and prayer.
 “Where there are Ministers, or Elders, before, they impose their hands upon
 “the new Officers: but where there is none, there some of their chiefest
 “men, two or three, of good report amongst them, though not in the Ministry,
 “doe, by appointment of the said Church, lay hands upon them.”

This was precisely the order observed at the Woburn Ordination. Hubbard (p. 409), in noticing the dissatisfaction which was felt on the occasion, says, “Since that time it hath been more
 “frequent, in such cases, to desire the elders of neighboring
 “churches, by virtue of communion of churches, to ordain . . .
 “where there are no elders before.” When Cotton Mather wrote his “Ratio Disciplinae,” 1726, the custom of lay or plebeian ordinations had fallen into disuse.¹

¹ Captain Johnson has omitted to state what arrangements were made to entertain the clergy and other delegates who came to attend Mr. Carter’s ordination. They doubtless received a generous hospitality. Some of them came from a considerable distance,

— Mr. Mather from Dorchester, and Mr. Allin from Dedham, — and traveling was a serious matter in those days. The Town Records of Woburn, however, give the expenses incurred at the ordination of Mr. Jackson, in 1729. Two of the bills, furnished

Captain Johnson took his seat in the General Court, May 10, 1643, as Deputy from the town of Woburn, which was the first session of the Court after the incorporation of the town.¹ Early in the session, he was placed on a Committee, with Captains Gibbons, Sedgwick, Cooke, and Dennison,² to consider of some orders to put the country into a position for war; to put arms in order, to inspect fortifications, and to propound such order as they think of to the Court.³ At this session, he was appointed "Clerk of the Writs" at Woburn. On the 7th of September following, he was appointed one of the three Commissioners, with a guard of forty men, to proceed to Shawomet, to arrest and "bring Samuel Gorton and his company, if they do not give them satisfaction."⁴ The Surveyor General was ordered to deliver to these Commissioners, "or any of them, what they may desire, as needful for themselves or their company." They proceeded on the expedition, and returned with Gorton and eleven of his company under arrest. On the 17th of October, Gorton was arraigned as "a blasphemous enemy of the true religion of o^r Lord Jesus Christ & his holy ordinances & also of all civill authority among

by Rev. Samuel Sewall, in *American Quarterly Register*, xiv. 263, are as follows:—

"To Mr. Jonathan Poole, Esq., for subsisting the Ministers and Messengers and Gentlemen in the time of Mr. Jackson's Ordination.

To 433 Dinners at 2:6 a Dinner	£54. 2.6
To Suppers and Breakfasts, 178	08. 18.0
To Keeping 32 horses 4 days	3. 0.0
To Six Barrils & ½ of Cyder	4. 11.0
To 25 Gallons of Wine	9. 10.0
To 2 Gallons of Brandy and 4 Gallons of Rhum	1. 16.0
To Loaf Sugar, Lime Juice, and pipes	1. 12.0

£83. 9.6

To Mr. Noah Richardson for Keeping the Ministers and Messengers Horses in the time of Mr. Jackson's Ordination £2. 0.0

¹ The Woburn Records make no mention of his election as Deputy for 1643, or for

several subsequent years. The first popular election of town officers did not take place till 1644; and, in the record of that meeting, the appointment of a Deputy is not mentioned. Up to this time, the affairs of the town seem to have been managed by the Committee appointed by the Church at Charlestown.

² These were persons of well-known military experience; and the association of Johnson with them indicates that his military knowledge was early appreciated, although his name appears in the list as "Goodman Johnson." At that time he had no military rank in the Colony.

³ Col. Rec. ii. 39.

⁴ Idem. 44.

“the people of God, & perticularly in this iurisdiction.”¹ Captain Johnson was, at this date, paid £5 for his services.²

The summary mode in which justice was administered in the early days of the Colony occasioned a general feeling of disquietude on the part of the people.³ They desired a written code, that they might know what laws they were to obey, and that they might be protected from capricious arrests and unusual punishments. The Magistrates, dependent on popular favor, were compelled to give a nominal assent to this reasonable demand; and yet they were very well satisfied with matters as they then stood, and were in no haste to limit their own prerogatives. By annually appointing, from their own number, committees to draw up a code, they managed for several years to postpone all definite action in the matter. These committees did nothing, and were expected to do nothing. This process of delay commenced in March, 1634-5. John Winthrop and Richard Bellingham were then “desired by the Court to take a view of all orders already made, and to inform the next General Court, which of them they judge meet to be altered, abreviated, repealed, corrected, enlarged or explained.”⁴

In May, 1635, these persons, with John Haynes and Thomas Dudley, were instructed to make a “draft of such laws as they shall judge needful.”⁵ Nothing, of course, was done; and in May, 1636, the same persons, with Governor Vane, and, of the clergy, Cotton, Peters, and Shepard, were “entreated to make a draft of laws agreeable to the word of God. In the mean time the magistrates shall determine all causes according to the laws now established; and, where there is no law, then as near the law of God as they can.”⁶

¹ Col. Rec. ii. 51.

² Idem. ii. 53.

³ See Winthrop, i. 160.

⁴ Idem. i. 137.

⁵ Idem. i. 147.

⁶ Idem. i. 174.

As usual, nothing practical came of this entreaty. A code, however, on the pattern of "Moses his Judicials," was prepared by Mr. John Cotton, and was submitted to the General Court, October 25, 1636.¹ The same was published in London, in 1641, as "An Abstract of the Laws of New England as they are now Established." This code was never established in New-England. It was reprinted in London, by William Aspinwall, in 1655; in Hutchinson's Collections (pp. 161-179); and in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. pp. 173-187.

Two years later (March, 1637-8), the magistrates take up the complaint of "the want of written laws," and devise the strange plan that the freemen in every town shall assemble and collect "the heads of such necessary laws as may be suitable." A Committee, constituted substantially of the same persons as before, with the addition of Nathaniel Ward, William Spencer, and William Hawthorn, was raised "to make a compendious abridgement" of what was received from the towns.²

Another two years had nearly passed without any results. The people became more restless, and their demands could no longer be evaded by the useless form of appointing committees of the magistrates and the clergy. Governor Winthrop, November, 1639 (i. 323), states what the trouble was. "Most of the magistrates and some of the elders," he says, "are not very forward in this matter." He assigns two reasons. "One was want of sufficient experience of the nature and disposition of the people." The second was, that the customs of the Colony, if formally expressed in a written code, might be repugnant to the laws of England. He reasons thus: "To raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression; as in our church discipline, and in matters of marriage, to make a law that marriages should not be solemnized by ministers, is repugnant to the laws of

¹ Winthrop, i. 202.

² Col. Rec. i. 222.

“England; but to bring it to a custom by practice for the magistrates to perform it, is no law made repugnant. At length (to satisfy the people) it proceeded, and the two models [Cotton’s and Ward’s] were digested with divers alterations and additions, and abbreviated and sent to every town.”

On the 5th of November, 1639, was appointed another Committee, consisting of Winthrop, Dudley, Bellingham, of the Magistrates, and the six Deputies of Boston, Charlestown, and Roxbury.¹ For the first time, the representatives of the people had a controlling voice on the Committee, and the prospect of their having a written code grew brighter. Before the Court met the following May, “a breviat of laws had been sent forth to be considered by the elders and other freemen.” This was the celebrated Code of “Liberties,” drawn up by Mr. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich; probably in 1638, when he was a member of the Committee. By skillful management on the part of the Magistrates, final action was delayed for another two years. In June, 1641, the Governor was appointed to peruse all the laws, and make return to the next General Court.² On the 7th of October, the Governor and Mr. Hawthorne were “desired to speak to Mr. Ward for a copy of the liberties, and of the capital laws, to be transcribed and sent to the several towns.”³ On the 10th of December, 1641, the main question was reached, and “the bodye of laues formerly sent forth amonge the ffreemen, was voted to stand in force.”⁴

The “Liberties of the Massachusetts Collonie,” of 1641, was the first Code of Laws enacted in New-England, and formed the basis of the later Massachusetts codes and of the laws of other colonies. No copy of the Liberties of 1641 is to be found in the

¹ Col. Rec. i. 279.

² Idem. i. 320.

³ Idem. i. 340.

⁴ Idem. i. 346. This paragraph, in the original record, is in the handwriting of Governor Winthrop.

archives of the State; and, till within a few years, its existence was unknown. It was supposed by many that Mr. Cotton's Abstract on the model of Moses, published in England in 1641, and reprinted by Mr. Aspinwall in 1655, was the Code enacted in 1641.

Some forty years ago, a manuscript copy of the genuine Liberties was discovered in the Library of the Boston Athenæum, prefixed to a printed copy of Massachusetts Laws of 1672: and it was first printed, in 1843, in vol. xxviii. of the Massachusetts Historical Collections (pp. 216-237), with an interesting historical introduction by Mr. Francis C. Gray, to whom the credit of announcing the discovery, if not the discovery itself, belongs.

It is a fact worthy of notice, that the Preamble of the Woburn Town Orders, adopted December 18, 1640 (which I have copied, on pp. lxxxii-ii, from the handwriting of Captain Johnson), is nearly identical with the noble Preamble of the "Liberties of the Massachusetts Colonie," which, as already stated, was not enacted till December 10, 1641. The variations, as will be seen from the following transcript of each in parallel columns, are merely verbal:—

PREAMBLE OF WOBURN TOWN ORDERS,
1640.

The free fruition of such liberties and privileges as humanity, civility, and Christianity calls for, as due to every man, with his place and proportion, without impeachment and infringing, *which* hath ever been, and ever will be, the tranquillity and stability of christian commonwealths; and the denial or the deprivation thereof, the disturbance, if not the ruin, of both.

PREAMBLE OF MASSACHUSETTS LIBERTIES,
1641.

The free fruition of such liberties, immunities, and privileges as humanity, civility, and Christianity call for, as due to every man, in his place and proportion, without impeachment and infringement, hath ever been, and ever will be, the tranquillity and stability of churches and commonwealths; and the denial or deprivation thereof, the disturbance, if not the ruin, of both.

This sublime declaration, standing at the head of the first Code of Laws in New-England, was the production of no common

intellect. It has the movement and the dignity of a mind like John Milton's or Algernon Sidney's; and its theory of government was far in advance of the age. A bold avowal of the rights of man, and a plea for popular freedom, it contains the germ of the memorable Declaration of July 4, 1776.

That Mr. Nathaniel Ward, the lawyer, the clergyman, and the humorist, was the author of the "Liberties of 1641," there can be no doubt. If he was the sole author of the Preamble of his Code, he was a greater man than has been claimed by his biographers. I suspect, however, that the leading ideas expressed in the Preamble originated with some of the acute and advanced thinkers of that period in England.

How came this Preamble in the Woburn Town Orders one year before it was adopted by the Massachusetts Colony? Edward Johnson was certainly not its author. He had not, at that time, any official position in the government. Mr. Ward, in 1638, was a member of a Committee to draft a Code; and, the next year, copies of his draft were sent out to the several towns to be read and considered.¹ The Court on the 13th of May, 1640,² say, that, "Whereas a breviat of laws was formerly fent forth to be considered by the Elders of the Churches and other freemen of this Commonwealth, it is now desired that they will endeavour to ripen their thoughts and counfels about the same, by the General Court in the next eighth month" [December, 1640]. This was the month in which the Woburn Town Orders were adopted and signed. The Preamble evidently was copied from Mr. Ward's draft, then in the hands of the Elders and freemen of Charlestown.³

¹ Winthrop, i. 323; Col. Rec. i. 279.

² *Idem.* i. 292.

³ The variations in the Woburn Preamble from that of the "Liberties," as finally adopted, are all for the worse. The former

has several grammatical errors; and one word, "which" (italicized in the transcript), is superfluous. Many copies were made for distribution; and the errors are such as a careless copyist would be likely to make in

An important step in the right direction had now been taken; but the people were still impatient under this brief exposition of their liberties, and of the large and general powers still remaining undefined in the hands of the Magistrates. What they had was analogous to the Bill of Rights prefixed to our General Statutes. They now demanded specific statutes under these rights. For another seven years, the process, already described, of delay, of appointing committees of the Magistrates, who did nothing, and whose interest was to do nothing, went on.¹ It was only by the energy and perseverance of a few representatives of the people, of whom Captain Johnson was perhaps the most efficient, that a body of Laws was prepared and ratified; and which was printed in the year 1648.

Captain Johnson's name first appears in this connection, May 14, 1645,² when three Committees of six persons each, from the Counties of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex, were appointed to meet in their several Counties, to draw up a body of Laws, and present them to the next General Court. The Deputies, the following May,³ thankfully accepted what had been done, and appointed a new Committee of six to condense the same. Captain Johnson was the only Deputy placed on this Committee;⁴ but the work went on; and the Committee completed their

an involved and stately sentence. Some of the changes — as the insertion of “im-munities” — may have been made in the original draft, at a subsequent period, and before its enactment.

If any evidence were needed to prove that the manuscript in the Boston Athenæum Library is a true copy of the “Liberties of 1641,” the facts mentioned would tend to confirm its authenticity. Later drafts begin, “Forasmuch as the free fruition,” etc.

¹ See Col. Rec. ii. 21, 22, 39, 61.

² *Idem.* ii. 109.

³ *Idem.* iii. 75.

⁴ Mr. F. C. Gray, in his interesting paper on the “Early Laws of Massachusetts” (in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* xxviii.), in no instance mentions Captain Johnson in connection with the laws of 1648. He gives (p. 210) the names of several persons on this Committee, but omits Johnson's. On the next page, quoting from the Records, he gives the names of all the other members of the Committee appointed May 26, 1647, and again omits Johnson's. He probably did not know who Edward Johnson was, and considered the name of no importance.

labors. In November, 1646,¹ “the Court, being deeply sensible of the earnest expectation of the country in general for “this Courts completing of a body of laws . . . willing also to “their utmost to answer their honest and hearty desires therein . . . “whereby we may manifest our utter dissatisfaction to arbitrary “government,” appointed another Committee, of which Captain Johnson was not a member, to perfect what already “are drawn “up . . . thereby to make way for printing our laws.” The working-man had been dropped from the Committee, and hence little or nothing was done.

On the 26th of May, 1647, the record of the Court is as follows:² “The Court understanding that the Committee for perfecting the laws, appointed at the last General Court, through straits “of time and other things interveaning, have not attained what “they expected, and on all hands so much desired,” proceed to appoint a Committee of six “to do the same against the next sessions of the 8th mo. or the next General Court.” The Committee was the same as the preceding one, except that Captain Johnson was restored. The work was completed within the time specified, and was put to press during the summer of 1648. On the 27th of October, 1648, an order was passed,³ directing how “the Book of the Laws now at the press shall be sold and distributed.” We see, therefore, that, when Captain Johnson was on the Committee, then, and only then, efficient progress was made in the work.

In *Wonder-working Providence*, Captain Johnson has an entire chapter (pp. 205-6) on the completion of this first printed edition of the Massachusetts Laws.⁴ He says, with an air, seemingly, of

¹ Idem. ii. 168; iii. 84.

² Idem. ii. 196.

³ Idem. iii. 144.

⁴ He, or his printer, has made a mis-

take in the date of the appointment of three County Committees. This appointment was made in 1645, and not in 1646.

personal triumph, "In the year 1648 they were printed, and *now* " *are to be seen of all men.*" This statement is so far from being true in our day, that not a single copy of the Massachusetts Laws of 1648 is known to be in existence. It is by no means improbable that one may yet come to light. He who shall discover it, will find a priceless treasure, and will excite the envy of antiquaries and book-collectors.

I do not claim that Captain Johnson was the chief compiler of the Massachusetts Laws of 1648. In legal knowledge and literary training, he was excelled by other persons who were engaged with him in the work. But he was the man thoroughly in earnest that the Laws should be written out and printed. He understood the wants of the people, and furnished the democratic impetus which the enterprise so much needed. His practical common-sense was useful in thwarting impracticable suggestions, and in harmonizing conflicting opinions. There was also much work to be done in transcribing, collating, and condensing the various drafts submitted.

The Court Records of the session commencing March 1, 1647-8, has the following entry (ii. 231): "Leift. Johnson, upon "his request (being pressed wth many urgent occasions) is dismissed fro^m any furth^r attendance on y^e service of y^e Co^rte." The Deputies' Records for this session, which might throw light on the nature of the pressing business that required his absence from Court, are unfortunately missing. Something — probably the same business — prevented his attendance at the next General Court, which met on the 10th of May following; and hence John Wright was appointed in his stead as Deputy from Woburn (iii. 121). This was the only year, from 1643 to 1672, in which Captain Johnson did not have a seat in the General Court. What was this urgent business? His whole time was engrossed in public duties, either for the Town or the Colony.

The Woburn Records show that there was no town business that required his special attention. On the other hand, he so neglected the town records for the year 1648, that he did not even enter the proceedings of the annual March meeting, when town officers and the Deputy were chosen. It is highly probable that he was wholly absorbed during the Spring, Summer, and Fall in revising and printing the Massachusetts Laws of 1648.¹

It is evident, from the many similar Committees on which Captain Johnson subsequently served, that his knowledge and good judgment in legal matters were held in high esteem by his associates. The duties of some of these Committees were as follows: —

19 June, 1650. — “To draw vp instructions for o^r honoured commiffioner^s “[of the United Colonies] for their directions agaynst the time when the commiffioner^s of all the colonies shall meete.” (iii. 201.)

23 May, 1651. — “To drawe vp instruccions for our honnord comiffioners” as before. (iv. Pt. 1, 45.)

9 June, 1654. — “To drawe vp feveral letters to his highnes the Lord Protector's letter, y^e letter for y^e gent^m of y^e corporation, & M^r Winflows,” etc. (iv. Pt. 1, 196.)

1 June, 1661. — “To confider & debate such matter or thing of publicke concernment touching our pament, lawes, priviledges, & duty to his maj^{ty} as they in their wisdome shall judge most expedient, & drawe vp the result of their

¹ There is no record that Captain Johnson was paid for this service; but there is a record of compensation granted, 11 May, 1649, to Mr. Joseph Hill, of Malden, who also was employed on the work, as follows: “Mr. Joseph Hill is graunted, as a gratuity, “tenn pounds, to be paid him out of the “treasury, for his paines about the printed “lawes.” (iii. 162.) Nothing appears in the records that the printers, or other persons employed, were paid; yet they must have

been. We have the Court Records and the Deputies' Records covering this period. Business recorded in one is often omitted in the other, and the Treasurer's accounts are not given in either. The appointment of the Committee of May 26, 1647, who completed the printed laws of 1648, is omitted from the Deputies' Records. Mr. Hill was not a Deputy in 1649, and Captain Johnson was, which may explain why a special appropriation was made in Mr. Hill's favor.

“ apprehensions, & present the same to the next session for consideration & appro-
 bation, that so (if the will of God be) wee may speake & act the same thing,
 “ becoming prudent, honest, conscientious, & faithful men.” (iv. Pt. 2, 24.)

31 May, 1670. — “ Whereas there is great want of law bookes for the vse of
 “ the feuerall Courts and inhabitants in this jurisdiction at present, & very few
 “ of them that are extant or compleat, conteyning all lawes now in force amongst
 “ vs, it is therefore ordered by this Court that [the persons named] are ap-
 “ pointed to be a committee to peruse all our lawes now in force, to collect &
 “ drawe vp any literall erro's, or misplacing of words or sentences therein, or
 “ any libertjes infringed, and to make a convenient table for the ready finding
 “ of all things therein, that so they may be fitted ffor the presse, & the same to
 “ present to the next session of this Court.” (iv. Pt. 2, 453.)

The Committee last named reported on the 12th of October, 1670. Various corrections and additions were submitted, and the Code was printed in 1672. Captain Johnson appears to have taken no part in the preparation of the Code of 1660. Major-General Daniel Dennison made that revision, and prepared the Index. (iv. Pt. 1, 337, 350.)

The various offices which Captain Johnson filled in the town of Woburn indicate the respect in which he was held by his fellow-citizens. For thirty years he was not only their Town Clerk and Representative in the General Court, but he usually was Chairman of the Selectmen, and one of the three “ Commis-
 sioners for ending small causes.”¹ In October, 1648, at the request of the Town, he was appointed by the Court “ to see
 “ people join in marriage;”² and the appointment was renewed from year to year. In 1649, his duties were thus expressed: “ To join such in marriage there as shall be published there
 “ according to law.”³ In 1656, any one of the “ Commissioners

¹ The Commissioners' jurisdiction was originally limited to cases where the value in question did not exceed twenty shillings. (Col. Rec. i. 239.) The limit was after-

wards extended to forty shillings. (Idem. i. 357.)

² Col. Rec. ii. 258.

³ Idem. ii. 283. The legal mode of pub-

“for ending small causes” could legalize marriages in towns where no Magistrate dwelt, provided two of the Commissioners were present. (Idem. iii. 298.)

When not in attendance at Court, Captain Johnson was employed in running boundary lines, locating land grants, and acting as referee in cases of disputed titles. He evidently was skilled in the duties of land-surveyor. Much of this work was assigned by the General Court; and for it he probably received but little compensation. When the first assembly of Deputies met, in May, 1634, no provision, as in the English House of Commons, was made for their pay. In March, 1634-5, before the end of the first session, it was ordered that “the charges of dyett,” during the term of every Court, be paid out of the treasury. (Col. Rec. i. 142.) In October, 1636, the rule was changed, and the charge for Deputies’ board was laid upon the towns “to ease the publick.” (Idem. i. 183.) This order was rescinded the following March, and the charge was again “bourn by the country.” (Idem. i. 187.) In May, 1638, it was ordered that every town shall bear the charges of their own Magistrates and Deputies; that a Magistrate shall be allowed 3^s 6^d a day, and a Deputy 2^s 6^d a day “for their dyot and lodging.” (Idem. i. 228.) The Deputies received no other remuneration than board and lodging, concerning which the Records give many curious details.¹

lication was to announce “the intention of
“the parties three times at some public lec-
“ture or town meeting, where the parties or
“either of them do ordinarily reside, and in
“towns where no lectures are, then the in-
“tention is to be set up in writing upon
“some post standing in public view, and
“used for such purpose only, and there to
“stand, so as it may easily be read, by the
“space of fourteen days.” Towns having
no weekly lecture, and not furnishing a
matrimonial post, were fined ten shillings a

month for default in providing the latter.
(Idem. i. 275.)

¹ The following order was passed Nov. 2,
1654: “Whereas it is judged most comly,
“convenient, & conduceable to the dispatch
“of publick service, that the Deputyes of y^e
“Gen^l Court should dyett together, especial-
“ly at dynner, it is therefore ordred, that the
“Deputyes . . . shall all be provided for at
“the Shipp Tauerne, at Boston, in respect to
“dynner, & y^t they shall all accordingly
“dyne together, & that Lieut. Phillips, the

The Town of Woburn not only made provision for their Deputy's "dyet" (when the laws required it), but, in view of his arduous and unrequited services, voted him a salary besides, as appears from an entry in its Records on "the 8th of 3 mo. 1645:" "It was ordered that those which are chosen deputies for to farue "at y^e generall Courte shall have *sixpence* for euery days faruis "they spend at y^e Court, as well for what is past as what is to "come, beside their dyet." On account of the difficulty of procuring silver to pay the Deputy's board, corn was sometimes sent to Boston for payment.¹

Before the close of the century, the salary of the Woburn Deputies was increased to two shillings, and again to three shillings a day. Unless Captain Johnson had been possessed of considerable property, he could not, on a salary of sixpence a day, have served the public so many years.

Captain Johnson, on p. 211, speaks of Mr. Marmaduke Matthews, who had preached at Hull "till he lost the approbation of "some able understanding men, among both Magistrates and "Ministers, by weak and unsafe expressions in his teaching, yet

"keeper of said tauerne, shalbe payd for
"y^e fame by the Treasurer for the tyme
"being, by discounting the fame in the cus-
"tome of wyne payable by the said Lieut
"Phillipps, & that the Treasurer shalbe
"repayd by the feueral townes."

"An agreement made with Lieut Phillipps
"by the Deputys now assembled in Gen^{ll}
"Court, that the Dep^{ties} of the next Court of
"Election shall sit in the new court cham-
"ber, & be dyeted wth breakfast, dynner, &
"supper, wth wine, & beere betweene meales,
"wth fire & beds, at the rate of three shillings
"per day, so many as take all their dyet as
"afforesaid at said howse, but such as only
"dyne, & not supp, to pay eyghteen pence for

"their dynners with wine, & beere betwixt
"meales; but by wine is intended a cupp
"each man at dynner & supp, & no more.

"Lieut Phillipps did accept of this, &
"agreed thereto, wth this provi^o, that only
"such as had all their dyet there should
"haue beere betweene meales, & also vppon
"extraordinary occasion he might haue the
"v^{se} of the great court chamber." (Col.
Rec. iii. 352-3.)

¹ In 1674 these items appear: "The
"Town Dr. to deputy's dyet £02.05.00. To
"Gershom Flagg for bringing downe Corne
"for deputy's dyet, £00.02.00." In 1676,
"To deputy's dyet aluēn weicks, siluer
"advanced, £5.2.4."

“notwithstanding he was called to the office of a Pastor at Mal-
 “den, although some Neighbour-churches were unfatisfied there-
 “with, for it is the manner of all the Churches of Christ here
 “hitherto, to have the approbation of the Sister-churches, and of
 “the civil Government in the proceedings of this nature.”

This was a marked case in the ecclesiastical history of the Colony; and Captain Johnson was one of the Committee appointed by the General Court to investigate and report upon it. The action of the Court in the matter was a high-handed piece of interference, if not of tyranny, even for those times; and we can hardly understand how the Captain, whose action at the organization of the Woburn Church, as we have seen, went almost to the freedom of Independency, could have done otherwise than protest and vote against it. On one occasion,¹ the names of those who voted in the negative are given, and his name is not among the number. He may have been absent when the vote was taken; but I think it more than probable that he sustained the report of his Committee, and voted with the majority. For nearly ten years he had been a law-maker in the Colony, and the possession of power naturally tends to conservatism. During those ten years the ecclesiastical system was gradually changing from a liberal to a rigid Congregationalism; and the Puritans of New-England — in distinction from the Separatists or Pilgrims — held to the right of the civil government to regulate ecclesiastical matters. That he regarded Mr. Matthews as an able and honest, though imprudent, man, appears in his narrative, and also in this “meeter:”

“Compleating of Christs Churches is at hand,
 “*Mathews* stand up, and blow a certain found,
 “Warriours are wanting Babel to withstand,
 “Christs truths maintain, ’twill bring thee honors crown’d.”²

¹ October 14, 1651. Col. Rec. iii. 250.

² Mr. Matthews came from the west of England, and arrived in Boston in Septem-

ber, 1638. (Winthrop, i. 273.) Mr. Winthrop speaks of him as a “godly minister.” He removed to the Plymouth Colony (Lech-

In June, 1652, "for the better discovery of the north line of our "patent," it was ordered that Captain Simon Willard and Captain "Johnson be appointed as Commissioners to procure such artists "and other assistants as they shall judge meet to go with them, to "find out the most northerly part of Merrimack River, and that "they be supplied with all manner of necessaries by the Treasurer "fit for their journey, and that they use their utmost skill and ability "to take a true observation of the latitude of the place, and that "they do it with all convenient speed, and make return thereof at "the next sessions of this Court." (iv. Pt. 1, 98.)

ford, Plaine Dealing, 41), and preached for some years at Yarmouth. His name first appears in the Colony Records, May, 1649 (iii. 153), in a petition of the inhabitants of Hull for encouraging Mr. Matthews to preach among them. The Court votes that he shall not return to Hull, nor reside among them, and shall be admonished by the Governor in the name of the Court, for several erroneous, weak, inconvenient, and unsafe expressions. (iii. 159.) Soon after, he is invited to preach at Malden. He gives satisfaction to the Church, and is solicited to become their Pastor. The neighboring churches and the magistrates protest against it. The Church, zealous for what they consider their rights, proceed to settle him. The Church and Pastor are summoned into Court to answer for these irregular proceedings. An opportunity is given the parties to retract and apologize. (iii. 203.) This not being done, the Court fines the Church £50, to be levied on the estates of three persons (one of them is Mr. Joseph Hill, the town Deputy); and the three persons are empowered to collect proportions of said sum from other members of the Church. Mr. Matthews is fined £10, and the execution of judgment is respited till other goods appear besides books. (iii. 257.) Mr. Matthews makes an

apology; but "not such, and so full as might "be expected, yet the Court are willing to "accept of it at present as to pass it by; and "for the remittment of the fines, they see no "cause to grant their request therein, the "country being put to so great trouble, "charge and expense in the hearing of the "cause as far surmounts the fines." (iii. 276.)

In October, 1652, Mr. Hill petitions for the remittment of the fines. Mr. Matthews's fine is remitted, and £10 from that of the Church. (iii. 294.) In May, 1655, £13.6.8 of the Church's fine had not been paid. Mr. Hill and others again petition that the amount due be remitted, and "humbly acknowledge the offense." The answer is as follows: "The Court doth well approve and "accept of the petitioners acknowledgments "of their irregular actings in those times, "but understanding much, if not most, of "the fine being paid for, & that the rest is "secured and should long since have been "paid in, they see not cause to grant their "request in that." (iv. Pt. 1, 236.)

Mr. Hill had been a member of the General Court for seven years, and had been Speaker of the House of Deputies. The next year five hundred acres of land were granted to him for money paid, and for services to the country. (iv. Pt. 1, 271.)

Complaints had been made by the proprietors of the Mason and Gorges patents that the Massachusetts men were encroaching upon their jurisdiction; for they had crossed the Merrimack, and planted themselves at Portsmouth, Hampton, Dover, and Exeter, and wherever they found favorable locations. They had even passed the Piscataqua, and taken up their residence at Kittery and York. From their numbers, their energy, and their tact in organizing government, they soon obtained a controlling influence in all the settlements in the territory which is now New-Hampshire and Maine.

While the Mason and Gorges claimants and their leading men demurred at this intrusion, the old settlers generally favored the new order of events, as it gave them an established government, and allied them to the vigorous Colony of Massachusetts Bay. After much controversy, the Massachusetts Colony took these towns under their protection, on the ground that the terms of their Charter gave them the requisite jurisdiction. This they proved to their own satisfaction, if they were not so fortunate as to bring their opponents into the same belief. The Massachusetts Patent of 1628 defined the northern boundary of the Colony as “three English miles to the northward of said river called Merrimack, or to the northward of *any and every part* thereof, from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea [Pacific Ocean] on the west part.” Little was known of the Merrimack River in 1628. Its course near the coast was easterly, and the supposition naturally was that this was its general course in *any and every part* thereof.¹ Such is not the fact. It rises in the mountains of New-Hampshire; and its course, till within thirty miles of the coast, is from the north. Whatever might have been the wording of the Patent, there can be little doubt as to the intention of the makers of the instrument — which was, that the northern

¹ Hutchinson's Collections, 422.

boundary should be three miles north of the river, whatever its course might be; and that, three miles from the most northerly part, the line should extend due west to the South Sea. The Massachusetts Government chose to give the phraseology of the Patent a technical interpretation, which brought the disputed territory within their own limits. They claimed that, east and west from a point three miles north of *any part* of the Merrimack River, their northern, like their southern boundary, was a straight line. What, then, was the most northerly part of the river? Captain Johnson, an experienced land-surveyor, and Captain Willard, with assistants, were appointed to explore the river, and fix that point. Captain Johnson knew more of the river than any public man in the Colony. On his first visit to New-England, he had traded there with the Indians; and perhaps his acquaintance with some of the chiefs might have facilitated the objects of the expedition. As the region to be explored was unsettled by Englishmen, the journey through a trackless wilderness was attended with no little risk and hardship. With two Indian guides, they traced the river to where it issues from Lake Winnipiseogee; and, at a point three miles further to the north, found the latitude to be $43^{\circ} 40' 12''$.¹ The party started in June, 1652. They determined the latitude at the lake on the 1st of August; and they made their report to the Court on the 19th of October. Their bill of charges was paid, and Captain Johnson received twenty marks [£13. 6s. 8d.] as a gratuity for his "pajnes."

On the basis of this report, two experienced navigators were appointed to fix "the northerly bounds of our patent upon the sea coast." They made their observations October 29, 1653, and set up the proper bounds on "Upper Clapboard Island,"² about a

¹ Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 1, 109; Pt. 2, 242. Folsom's Documents, 65.

² Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 1, 207.

“quarter of a mile from the main in Casco Bay,” a point so far north that it covered the whole territory in dispute. The settlements therein were comprised in the Massachusetts County of Norfolk, and were regularly represented, for the next twenty-six years, by their deputies in the General Court at Boston. So far as Maine is concerned, Massachusetts maintained its jurisdiction till the admission of the State into the Union in 1820. The extinguishment of the Gorges claim¹ has already been described (p. lv). New Hampshire was constituted a separate province by Charles II., in 1679.

As an indication of the nature and extent of Captain Johnson's public services, I will specify a few of them, commencing with the first session of 1652. May 27, he was made chairman of a Committee “to lay out the bounds of Andover” (iii. 272); and, May 31, he was put on a Committee to repair the Fort at Castle Island. (iii. 277.) At the same session, he was appointed a Commissioner to determine the northern boundary of the Colony (as before mentioned),—a duty which consumed nearly four months' time. October 19, he was placed on a commission “for the laying out of three thousand acres of land granted to Mr. Winthrop and his wife, at Shawshin.” (iii. 290.) In May, 1653, he served on three Committees: “To devise how the expenses of the Court may be diminished” (iv. Pt. 1, 135); “To lay out the Indian Plantation petitioned for by Mr. John Eliot” (idem. 137); and “To consider whether the Commissioners of the United Colonies have power, by the articles of agreement, to determine the justice of offensive or vindictive war, and to engage the Colonies therein.” (Idem. 141.) In September he was placed on a Com-

¹ The Gorges claim is fully treated in Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 236-243, and v. 108-113. Its purchase, on the Crown's theory, made

Massachusetts proprietor in fee. The School Fund of the State has been made chiefly by the sale of lands thus acquired in Maine.

mittee "to examine the state of the College in all respects." Eight subjects of inquiry were specified. The sixth was "To direct some way how the necessary officers, as steward, butler, and cook may be provided for, that so the scholars commons may not be so short as now they are occasioned thereby."¹ (iii. 331-2.) Captain Johnson (p. 168) alludes to complaints on the matter of the College Commons; yet he compliments Mr. Dunster, who was President from 1640 to 1654, for "having a good inspection into the well-ordering of things for the Students maintenance (whose commons hath been very short hitherto) by his frugal providence hath continued them longer at their Studies than otherwise they could have done; and verily it's great pity such ripe heads as many of them be, should want means to further them in learning."² As the Committee of 1653 was clothed "with full powers to act in all the premises, to regulate and rectify any thing that is out of order in the said College," no report of their proceedings was entered in the Records.

Some estimate may be formed of Captain Johnson's services, during the thirty years of his public life, from the foregoing schedule of duties laid upon him by the General Court in the two years mentioned, when the relations between the Colony and the home government were perhaps more cordial and friendly

¹ Mr. Savage (Winthrop, i. 310) gives a very droll confession, made in 1639, by Mrs. "President" Eaton, who was charged with keeping the College students on a mean and scanty diet. "The commons of the students," Mr. Savage adds, "have often been a matter of complaint; but, I believe, have never since occupied the attention of the Government of the State."

² Mr. Dunster appears not to have maintained the reputation of his commissary department to the end of his administration. He could say, however, "My poverty, but

"not my will, consents." In a petition to the General Court in October, 1650 (iii. 214), it appears that his salary had not been paid for two years.

It is singular that Captain Johnson, with his ample pecuniary means and his appreciation of learning, did not educate one or more of his sons at the College. William, who subsequently took a leading part in the government of the Colony, was but fourteen years of age when his father came into public life; and a liberal education would have contributed much to his usefulness.

than at any earlier or later period. If the record of his useful and unobtrusive life had closed here, we should hardly have suspected that he possessed those qualities which fitted him to be a leader in the most critical period in the history of the Massachusetts Colony.

In the stormy epoch from 1661 to 1665, when the Charter and the liberties of the Colony were assailed by the combined ingenuity and malice of the restored English hierarchy, we find him uniformly put forward by his associates as one of the most prominent actors. Every thing dear to the colonists was at stake. A single act of concession on any vital issue, or one of rash imprudence, would have been fatal. A more difficult problem — how to maintain, on the one hand, the chartered rights of the Colony; and, on the other, to yield a nominal obedience to the demands of the Crown — was never presented to human ingenuity. That the Colony emerged from this trial with its Charter unrevoked and its liberties unimpaired, must be ascribed to the eminent ability and the sagacious diplomacy with which the colonists carried on their part of the controversy. I purpose to show the part which Captain Johnson took in these events.¹

The restoration of Charles II., in 1660, was an event that promised nothing auspicious to the Massachusetts Colony. Charles I., in the later years of his reign, was too much occu-

¹ The following are a few of the intervening incidents of his life:—

In May, 1657, he was appointed Trial-justice for Middlesex County. (Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 1, 288.) In May, 1658, three hundred acres of land were granted to him, in consideration of his public services, to be laid out "where he can find it." (Idem. 339.) Omitting to locate his grant, he was warned, in May, 1660, that, if he neglects it further, he will lose it. (Idem. 425.) In June, 1661, the grant was confirmed and

located. (iv. Pt. 2, 22.) In October, 1663, another grant of two hundred acres was made to him. (Idem. 90.) In October, 1659 (at the death of John Johnson, of Roxbury, who had held the position for eighteen years), Captain Johnson was appointed Surveyor-General (iv. Pt. 1, 391), an officer having in charge the arms, ordnance, ammunition, and military stores of the Colony. The appointment, which at first was temporary, was renewed at the Court of Election the following May.

pied in troubles at home, to give attention to American affairs. During the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, the colonists had in the great Puritan chieftain a friend and staunch supporter. For nearly twenty years, the Colony had been suffered to manage its own concerns, with but little dictation from the mother country.

Soon after the news of the Restoration was received, intelligence came that sundry petitions and complaints against the Colony had been preferred to the King in Council and to Parliament. At the session of the Court in June, 1661, a Committee was appointed, of which Captain Johnson was a member, "to consider and debate such matter or thing of publick concernment, touching our Patent, laws, privileges, and duty to his Majesty as they in their wisdom shall judge most expedient." (iv. Pt. 2, 24.) Further charges against the Colony soon arrived, with an order from the King, that messengers be sent to England to make answer. The Court held a special session, December 31, 1661, when Mr. Simon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton were named as the messengers, and some brief general instructions were agreed upon. The Court then adjourned, having appointed a committee of five, of which Captain Johnson was also a member, with full powers to do what remained more particularly to be done in "removing obstacles" (for the messengers named were very reluctant to accept the commission), preparing special instructions, drafting letters, raising funds, &c. "Whatsoever they [the Committee] shall vnder their hands act & determine, this Court doth hereby engage to performe. And further, it is ordered, that the Governor sign the commiffion & instructions in the name of this Court, and that the secretary [of the Court] be present wth the said Committee, to receive & take the result of what they shall doe, and put the same vpon file, as the records of this Court." (Idem. 39.)

The Committee met at "Ankor taverne," in Boston, January 4, 1661-2, and continued its sessions till February 7.¹ A ship ready to sail was detained by the Committee till further orders. Letters were drafted in the name of the Governor to his Majesty, to Lord Say-and-Seal, to the Earl of Clarendon, and to the Earl of Manchester; and also the messengers' commission and instructions. In the name of the General Court, with the signature of the Secretary, letters to Mr. Henry Pelham and nine other friends of the Colony in England were prepared. In case the agents should not embark, the Committee wrote a letter, in the name of the Governor, to Colonel Thomas Temple, and, in their own name, to Mr. Richard Saltonstall and others.

On the 28th of January, the agents signified their readiness to embark. The despatches were ready, with the exception of the official signature of the Governor. Governor Endicott and Deputy-Governor Bellingham had both been appointed members of the Committee; but, not favoring the measure of sending messengers to England, they declined, after repeated solicitations, to meet or act with the other members. They doubtless supposed, that this course, in connection with the reluctance of the agents, would result in defeating the project. Finding, however, that the Committee was not thus to be thwarted, the Governor flatly refused to sign the documents prepared. Whereupon the Committee addressed to the Governor the following letter:—

"Whereas the generall court hath seene meete to impower us to dispatch
"their messengers Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton for the negotiation with his
"Majesty, all which is now prepared, wee hope to their content, and themselves
"have declared their readines to attend that service, there remaining now noth-
"ing wanting but your signing thereof. We understand by the secretary you
"have a second time declined; now that we may not be found wanting in our

¹ The "Proceedings of the Committee" in full are in Hutchinson's Collection, pp. 345-374.

“duty, wee have againe sent to your worship, desiring your finall answer concerning the perfecting thereof according to the trust reposed in you by the generall court, which if you shall yet refuse the whole busines will be frustrated, and wee feare his Majesty greatly incensed, our enemies advantaged, our friends discouraged, the chief power of this colony disappointed, many of its eminent servants grieved, and above all our God dishonored, which wee pray may be avoyded. So we rest your friends and servants.

“Sir, Wee crave your answer by the gentlemen whom wee have intreated to be the bearers thereof, that no unnecessary charge may accrue to the country by a further demurrage of the ship.” (Hutchinson’s Collection, p. 364-5.)

The firmness of the Committee was more than the Governor could resist. The result appears in a memorandum annexed: “This letter was sent to the Governor by Mr Edw. Tyng and Capt. Tho. Savage, who returned the answer that the secretary should come to the Governor on the morrow morning about 8 of the clock, and he would sign all as is desired. Which was done accordingly.”

The messengers sailed on the 11th of February. They were graciously received by the King, and returned in the autumn, with a letter to the Colony, in which his Majesty expressed himself satisfied with the “loyalty, duty and good affection” contained in the addresses prepared by the Committee. He confirmed the Patent, and declared himself ready to renew it under the great seal of England, whenever they may desire it. He granted a full pardon for all offenses (except high treason) committed against him during the late troubles. He required, however, that all laws derogatory to his authority should be repealed; that free toleration should be extended to all religious denominations (except the Quakers, “whose principles,” he said, “are inconsistent with any kind of government”); that “all persons of good and honest lives and conversations be admitted to the sacrament of the Lords Supper, according to the Book of

“Common Prayer, and their children to baptism;” that “all freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversation, and orthodox in religion (though of different persuasions concerning church government), may have their votes in the election of all officers civil and military;”¹ and, lastly, that “this our letter and declaration be communicated and published, that all our loving subjects may know our grace and favor to them.”²

Early in 1664, the report came that several armed vessels were on their way from England, with four gentlemen on board, who, as Royal Commissioners, were delegated to hear and determine all matters of complaint. It was supposed that a demand would

¹ The King required of the colonists what he was not willing to grant his subjects at home. During his reign, dissenters in England, whatever might have been their lives and conversation, were under the most galling disabilities.

The law of May, 1631, by which none but church members could become freemen and exercise the elective franchise, was repealed August 3, 1664; and another law was passed, conforming, in part, to the above requirements. Any member of the Church of England, “of competent estate, and not “vicious in conversation,” could become a freeman under this law; and some were subsequently admitted who did not belong to any church. “The first day of the Court [May, 1665], there was about seventy freemen admitted, fundry whereof were “not members of any particular church.” (Hull’s Diary, *Archæologia Americana*, iii. 217.) As it was necessary for the candidates for citizenship to obtain a certificate from a minister, indorsing their orthodoxy and correct conversation, probably not many churchmen and non-communicants availed themselves of their rights in this respect.

² The King’s Letter, dated June 28, 1662, is printed in Hutchinson’s Collection, 377-80, and, with some minor variations, in Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 164-6. The letter was received by the Court October 8, 1662 (*idem*. 58), but was not entered in the Records till nearly three years later, where it appears among the documents relating to the controversy with the Royal Commissioners.

In May, 1663, Isaac Cole, Constable, and Edward Converse, one of Captain Johnson’s associates in the Board of Selectmen at Woburn, were arraigned; the former for refusing to take and publish the King’s Letter, and the latter for having spoken of it as “Popery, &c.” (Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 72.) The Court, after a hearing, discharged Converse, on the ground that his language did not “reflect “on his Majesty’s letter.” Cole was “dismissed home at present till the Court shall order “his appearance againe,” which was never done; and the complainant was allowed his bill of costs. These incidents show the feeling with which the King’s demands were received by the people. It is evident that the Court was not zealous in punishing that class of misdemeanors.

be made for the Colony's Patent. A day of fasting and prayer was observed, and measures were taken to put the instrument beyond the reach of the King's Commissioners. On the 18th of May, the Court ordered: "Forasmuch as it is of great concernment to this Commonwealth to keep safe and secret our Patent, it is ordered, the Patent and duplicate belonging to the country, be forthwith brought into Court, and that there be two or three persons appointed by each house to keep safe and secret the said Patent and duplicates in two distinct places, as to the said Committee shall seem most expedient."

That it might be more difficult for the Commissioners to ascertain where the two instruments were, they were intrusted to four persons, who were doubtless selected for their courage and discretion. Captain Johnson was one of this Committee.¹ "The Secretary being sent for the Patent, brought it into the Court, and delivered it to the Deputy-Governor, and the rest of the Committee in the presence of the whole Court, and he was discharged thereof." (Col. Rec. iv. Pt. 2, 102.) The Patent was probably never returned to the custody of the Secretary; for in 1672, after the death of Captain Johnson, another person was appointed in his stead, "for the disposing of the Charter of this Colony." Two of the four Commissioners² arrived in Boston Harbor on the 23d of July.

¹ His associates were Deputy-Governor Richard Bellingham, Major-General John Leverett, and Captain Thomas Clarke.

Bellingham was Governor the following year. General Leverett, one of Cromwell's old soldiers, was then Speaker of the House of Deputies, Deputy-Governor in 1671, and Governor from 1673 to 1678. Capt. Clarke was Speaker of the Deputies in 1665.

² Col. Richard Nichols, Col. George Cartwright, Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick. Of these persons, Maverick was

the most obnoxious. When Winthrop's company arrived, in 1630, they found him living on Noddle's Island (now East Boston). Johnson speaks of him (p. 37) "as an enemy of the Reformation at hand, being strong for the Lordly Prelaticall power." In the list of persons who desired, in October, 1630, to become freemen, his name stands first, and Johnson's second. He was not, however, admitted till October, 1632. He had no sympathy with the opinions and purposes of the settlers; and, after

The narrative of the Royal Commissioners' proceedings, and of the wise and skillful diplomacy by which all their hostile purposes were thwarted in the Massachusetts Colony, is one of the most entertaining and instructive chapters in New-England history; but it is too long to be repeated here. A connected statement, with the documents at large, fill a hundred and sixteen pages in the Colonial Records, iv. Pt. 2, 157-273.¹

It is not possible to ascertain from the Records the precise amount of influence which each individual exerted in the negotiations with the Commissioners. The business was chiefly done in Committees; but, as these were usually composed of the same persons, it is evident who were the ablest and the leading men of the Colony. No person was more uniformly placed on these Committees than Captain Johnson. This fact is somewhat remarkable, as he was not a Magistrate, nor had he a seat at the Council-board. His official position was simply that of Deputy for the town of Woburn. We have seen that in June, 1661, he was placed on a Committee to consider all matters relating to "our Patent, laws, privileges and duty to his Majesty;" in January, 1661-62, to give instructions to Bradstreet and Norton, messengers to England; and in May, 1664, to take charge of the Patent of the Colony. In May, 1665, when the Royal Commissioners had opened their budget of instructions and complaints,

years of controversy and wrangling, he returned to England, a bitter enemy of the Colony.

A disgusting narrative of Maverick's attempt, in 1639, to improve the breed of his negro slaves, is recorded in Josselyn's *Voyages* (p. 28), and is copied by Mr. George H. Moore into his "Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts," 1866 (p. 8), without an intimation as to who Maverick was, or of his relation to the Massachusetts

Colony. Maverick was an Episcopalian; and yet ninety-nine out of a hundred of Mr. Moore's readers will infer (for the book is adapted to a latitude where the details of New-England history are not known), that the incident is an illustration of Puritan morals and manners.

¹ See also a very full account of the Royal Commissioners' proceedings in *Palfrey's New-England*, ii. 578-632, and in *Hutchinson's Massachusetts*, i. 211-234.

Captain Johnson was placed on two other most important Committees: one, which had in charge the whole subject in controversy; namely, “to consider of all the papers delivered into “this Court by Colonell Richard Nicholls, & the rest of his “majesties commissioners, & to present a full & meet answer “unto the whole to this whole Court for their approbation.” (iv. Pt. 2, 146.) This Committee so managed the case for the Colony, that they succeeded in evading the instructions and defeating the purposes of the Commissioners. The papers prepared by them show an ability and a tact which have never been surpassed in earlier or later diplomacy. Thomas Danforth was probably the writer of most of these papers; but their subject-matter was doubtless the united deliberations of the whole Committee.¹

¹ From original drafts and memoranda, preserved in the Massachusetts archives, it is probable that Captain Johnson was author of some of these papers. The following draft (vol. cvi. p. 80) of an address to King Charles II., evidently in his handwriting, contains expressions which are found in his book, and interesting statistical facts, such as he was in the habit of recording. The paper, which has no date or name of author attached, was recognized as Johnson's by Rev. Joseph B. Felt, who arranged these documents; and he has so designated it in the index. Mr. Felt placed it among the papers of 1665; but I think, from the subject-matter, that it should have been arranged under the date of 1661. It speaks of the Colony's “33 years experience;” and Johnson's habit was, in similar expressions, to date the beginning of the Colony at 1628 (see ante, p. xiv).

It has already been noticed, that Captain Johnson was, in the best sense of the term, a democrat, and a zealous defender of the people's prerogatives. On the accession of Charles II., addresses, signed by the Gov-

ernor, were sent to the King and to Parliament by the Court. The following paper seems to be the draft of an address which it was proposed to send to his Majesty from “the whole body of Freemen and others “inhabiting the Massachusetts in New England.” The idea is one which would be likely to originate with Captain Johnson. The paper does not appear in the Records; and, as addresses had previously been sent, probably did not pass the two Houses. The manuscript has but few erasures and interlineations. It is here printed with modern orthography and punctuation:—

“To our dread Sovereign Lord, Charles II., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

“We, who under your Majesty's royal grace and favor are continued peaceable possessors of that part of America commonly called New England, humbly present, —

“That, among the many colonies of the English nation in these parts of America, this, not the least (whose serene structure hath hitherto flourished under an unblem-

The duties of the other important Committee (*idem.* 151), to which allusion has been made, were to draw up the connected

ished government), began in a sterile desert, void of any staple commodity to procure food or raiment.

“Notwithstanding the first founders of this rare edifice, trampling under foot all discouraging difficulties, erected our present ecclesiastic and civil policy with the expense of no small estates, and encountering with many difficulties, — their fill of bread being very chargeable, — yet were they not so penurious as to possess the Indians’ land without purchase.

“Howbeit, so amiable was this government to your Majesty’s loyal subjects, who were conscientiously religious, that this wilderness was soon populated with the transportation of about 15,000 souls; and at this day increased (through the Lord’s blessing), as is supposed, to near 80,000 persons. By which means your Highness’s dominions are enlarged with a more honest interest in America, than any prince of Europe hath hitherto had.

“Nor may your Majesty repent the plenary power given and granted by Patent to the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants, and Freemen of this Colony, seeing it hath hitherto flourished under the same. And were it not that we fear our barbarous language will be irksome to your Royal ear, some small relating of bygone actions would surely dispossess our adversaries of your Majesty’s intentions to alter our present government in the least.

“For experience will speak for us, and declare, that so remote a part as is this new-found world (which cannot fetch fresh intelligence of your Majesty’s will and pleasure, in point of government, every day) may, notwithstanding, be continued stable; being furnished with fit persons, men of knowl-

edge in the mystery of godliness, and skilled in the wisdom of winning souls to wait on the churches, and administer the sacraments to those whom the Lord hath appointed. And as for ceremonies to vegetate the people’s devotion, well may they be spared; seeing ’twas zealous affection to worship the Lord turned this wilderness, with indefatigable labor, into towns, — nor can any be erected where an able, orthodox, and pious ministry is wanting [*compare p. 177*]. More completeness cannot be expected by any innovation.

“Now as to civil policy: It was organized in Europe, natural to our English nation; and so zealous are the people affected with it, that the most learned lawyers have been preferred to the highest places of governing. Notwithstanding, should any complain of oppression, either by arbitrary power or tyrannous laws, it would but declare their thirsting after the honor of ruling rather than the duty of obedience. And surely to bring into place of governing such as deviate from others, by increasing the number of electors, would but enervate this comely structure, and put your Majesty’s liege people upon a second peregrination, after so many signals of the Lord’s blessing upon the work to admiration, — in wonderful preservations by sea; thinning the natives by a sore mortality, and subduing the most stout and cruellest nations among them, when they rose up against us (and that by a handful); stilling the contentions of both French and Dutch; keeping us alive in dearth.

“Should any persuade a change, lest, through the imbecility or meanness of the persons governing, bold intruders would overtop them, or some foreign invaders wrest this part of America out of your

statement, which appears in the Colonial Records, iv. Pt. 2, 157-273.⁵

Majesty's hands, — as to the former of these, the greatest complainants against us are chiefly such as have felt the force of justice's sword in their contempt of authority; and, for the latter, we have been (through the Lord's goodness) encouraged, even in our extreme poverty, to fortify, — one Castle having cost us more than £45,000, besides other forts in the frontier towns. Nor are your Majesty's subjects here of such a pusillanimous spirit as to desert their own and your Majesty's right, so hardly attained.

“For although the place and people be poor, yet this benefit may accrue to your Highness; namely, increase of shipping (the strength, under God, of our English nation), seeing both building and victualling them may here be had, — a fair opportunity to navigate the western world.

“And now we most humbly beseech your Majesty, admit of our pleading as subjects of the Prince. Suffer us not to be yoked again with the Hierarchy, from whose prevailing power we fled into another world, where a small corner of a wilderness shall content us; while they possess the most habitable and fertile parts of the earth.

“As for our fidelity, your Majesty hath more than our bare word, if 33 years' experience speak any thing. And now, after that trusty teacher hath a while longer informed, we expect, with honest old Mordecai, to find place in your Majesty's chronicle. Remaining to perpetuity

“Your Majesty's loyal subjects, the whole body of Freemen and others inhabiting the Massachusetts, in New-England.

“Put the question, —

“Whether the freemen of this jurisdiction, and others who may enjoy the benefit

of this peaceable government, ought not to present their Prince with the true state of things, as is here expressed, before they enter upon any alteration in the least.

“So shall God be owned in his providences, his Majesty find us true to him and our own principles, God's people encouraged, and our consciences quieted.”

The estimate, contained in this paper, that the population of the Massachusetts Colony (which included what is now New Hampshire and Maine) was 80,000 in 1661, is an important historical fact, and one which, I believe, has never before been brought to light. If it had been observed by Mr. Felt, it would have filled an hiatus in his paper on the “Population of Massachusetts,” printed in the “Collections of the American Statistical Association,” i. 121-214. To determine the population at this period, Mr. Felt made a careful and detailed examination of such data as he had, which were very meagre, and was inclined to put the estimate much below what is here stated by Captain Johnson, than whom perhaps there is no better authority.

Mr. Felt reasons thus: The Commissioners, in 1665, stated that the militia consisted of 4,000 foot and 400 horse. Multiplying these by 5½, he makes the population 23,467. He thinks Randolph's estimate in 1676, that the population was 150,000, was an extravagant conclusion, and without any data known at this day. So also he regards as extravagant Chalmers's statement, that in 1673 the population of all New England was 120,000. “These statements,” he says, “like several others given by foreigners, which so much exceed any founded on facts, that the mind is sometimes in doubt what to believe, and the writer what to record, as to the population of New Eng-

One of the instructions to the Commissioners was to require the Massachusetts Colony to furnish them with a map of the territory which it laid claim to, and also with a statement of the claims which its neighbors made to any portion of the same; the object being to draw out the facts of the controversy relating to the northern boundary. The Commissioners, on the 15th of March, 1664-5 (the day on which Governor Endicott died), made this demand in a letter from Rhode Island. The letter was duly received; but what action, if any, was taken in the matter, does not appear till the meeting of the General Court, which convened May 3. The Commissioners, who had arrived in Boston, then repeated the demand, and added in a postscript: "This mapp or draught wthin mentioned, wee desire to be made "with all exactnes possibler, & wth all speed convenient deliuered "to us; for wthout it we shall neither well vnderstand your bounds, "nor be vnderstood in discourfing of them." (Idem. 183.)

The Colony had no intention of submitting this question to the decision of the Commissioners; yet the Court appointed Captain Johnson, and William Stevens, a Deputy for Gloucester, to prepare the map (idem. 145),¹ and notified the Commissioners that

"land for over a century of its first existence" (p. 141.)

Johnson states (p. 31) that 21,200 persons arrived in the Massachusetts Colony during the first fifteen years, — from 1628 to 1643. Some of these persons returned to England, or went to other colonies. In the above address, he says that "this wilderness was "soon populated with the transportation "of about 15,000 souls." Mr. Felt believes (p. 139), without stating his data, that "more "than one half the immigrants returned to "Europe, or went to different sections of "America." I have met with no facts which will sustain so large an estimate. Whether the figures above cover the same period,

cannot be ascertained, and is not important, for there was little immigration after 1643. They point, however, to the conclusion, that about two-thirds of the immigrants made a permanent residence in the Massachusetts Colony.

⁵ Captain Johnson's associates on this Committee were Thomas Danforth, who was a Magistrate; Edward Rawson, the Colonial Secretary; and Anthony Stoddard, a Deputy for Boston.

¹ The Committee were authorized to employ artists to aid them; and, June 1, the Court ordered the Treasurer to pay William Reed, of Boston, for work on the map, ten pounds, "in the best pay that is in his hands,

they "will speedily receive satisfaction therein." (Idem. 187.) May 24, the map was finished, and was delivered with a declaration by the Court, that they were prepared to show the reasons for their claims to the boundaries therein described. (Idem. 214.)

It appears in "A Narrative about New-England," made by the Commissioners, that this map, prepared under the supervision of Captain Johnson,¹ abated none of the claims previously asserted for the northern boundary. The "Narrative" says,—

"They [the Massachusetts Government] caused at length a mapp of their territories to be made, but it was made in a chamber by direction and guets: in it they claim fort Albany, and beyond it all the land to the fourth sea. By their fourth sea line they intrench upon the colonies of New Plymouth, Rhode Island and Connecticut; and in the east they have usurped Capt. Mafons and Sir Ferdinando Gorges patents; and said that the commissioners had nothing to do betwixt them and Mr Gorges." (Hutchinson's Collection, 419.)

Other and more exciting topics of controversy followed in rapid succession, and the question of boundary was soon lost sight of. The Commissioners, baffled in their purposes at every point, de-

"upon the delivery of one draught more than he hath already given in to this Court." (Idem. 155.)

No copy of this map, of which there were several drafts, is in the Massachusetts archives, and probably not in existence; as the papers of the Commissioners were captured by the Dutch, and were not recovered. (Hutchinson's Mass. i. 229.) If a copy was sent to England at the time, it is doubtless preserved in the State-paper Office.

¹ William Stevens was in no way concerned in fixing the northern boundary, and probably not in preparing the map. His name appears in the business of the Court, during the four years he was Deputy, only in this instance, and one other, which was quite unimportant. In 1667, at Salem, he was fined twenty pounds for seditious expres-

sions. In October, 1667, his wife petitioned the General Court for a remission of the penalty, which had been collected by distraint. The Court, in answer, "judge that the penalty inflicted was rather beneath than above the merit of the offence;" yet, in consideration of "herself and family in her old age," and "the craziness of the man in respect to his understanding," it was ordered, that the cattle and other property taken be restored for her especial benefit. (iv. Pt. 2, 353.) There being a delay in the restoration of the property, a similar order was subsequently passed by the Magistrates, which was defeated in the House of Deputies. The petition (in autograph), and the final action thereon, which are not given in the Records, are in the Massachusetts archives, vol. cvi.

parted in eminent disgust from Massachusetts, to other colonies where their authority was held in some respect.¹ From this time to the accession of that Popish sovereign, James II., and the abrogation of the Charter, the Colony had comparative quiet.

In October, 1665, Captain Johnson was put on a Committee to survey the lands about Quinsigamond Pond, now Worcester, for the purpose of laying out a plantation. (iv. Pt. 2, 291). He had now nearly reached the allotted limit of human life, and probably

¹ Colonel Nichols was a man of some ability and discretion; and, when afterwards he became Governor of New York, kept up a friendly correspondence with the Massachusetts Colony.

Carr went to Delaware, and thence to England, where he died on the day of his arrival.

Cartwright, on his passage home, was captured by the Dutch, and stripped of all he possessed, including the papers of the Commissioners.

Maverick was seen in Massachusetts in 1667, "which," says Hutchinson, "is the last account given of him." May 27, 1668, the Court referred a petition of Maverick to the County Court at Boston, "impowering them to remit or abate the fine, as they shall see cause." (iv. Pt. 2, 381.) To what this fine relates, or whether Maverick was in the Colony at the time, does not appear in the Records.

On the Tory theory of the divine right of kings, the conduct of our ancestors in 1665 as on many other occasions, cannot be defended. They were undutiful, if not rebellious, subjects. But in the light of subsequent events, and of modern and truer theories of government, their conduct needs no apology. The Stuart line of kings, with whom they were ever in controversy, was,

shortly after these events, discarded by England herself; and a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," for which our fathers here contended, has become the hope, if not the heritage, of the civilized world.

The founders of the Massachusetts Colony, and their descendants down to the period of the Revolutionary war, were probably the best trained and most skilled diplomatists of their time. They usually had some question at issue with the home government, which involved the dearest interests, if not the very existence, of the Colony. The best minds made these questions a special study, and hence were more than a match for opponents, whose studies were divided among other, and, to what appeared in England, more important, subjects. When every resource of argument and delay had been exhausted, the colonists knew how gracefully to yield to the logic of necessity; and, while they gave up the form, to save the substance, of that for which they had been contending.

The eminent ability which characterized the state papers of the American Revolution, has often been mentioned as a matter of surprise. The explanation is seen in the fact, that the crisis came upon a people who had been trained, for a century and a half, in the best school of statesmanship.

left to his younger associates the labor of performing the duty. The work was not done; and in May, 1667, another Committee was appointed, on which his name was still retained. (*Idem.* 341.) This Committee made a report in November, 1668; and still a third Committee was raised, to carry out the recommendations of the report, from which his name was omitted. (*Idem.* 408.)¹

In October, 1667, he was put on a Committee to draw up regulations with regard to shipbuilding (*idem.* 345); an incident which may possibly have a bearing on the opinion expressed on page lix., that shipbuilding was an occupation he had followed in England.

In 1666, he served on three Committees; in 1667, on four; in 1668, on none, but was appointed Chairman of the County Commissioners of Middlesex; in 1669, on three; in 1670, on one; and in 1671, the last year of his life, his name does not appear in the Records, except in the list of Deputies. His health had evidently failed. He died April 23, 1672, in the seventy-third or seventy-fourth year of his age.

He was mentioned, at the first meeting of the Court subsequent to his death, as having collected materials for a history of the Colony;² and in October, 1672, his successor was appointed "for disposing of the Charter of this Colony."³ (*Idem.* 542.)

¹ I find no positive evidence that he ever visited a locality so far inland as Worcester. It appears, however, from a record (*idem.* 556) made more than a year subsequent to his death, that he had served on a Committee, with Major Simon Willard and Thomas Danforth, "to order the prudential affairs "of Lancafter for many years," or, since May, 1657. (*iv. Pt. 1, 296.*)

² See *ante*, p. vii.

³ In the early trials for witchcraft, Captain Johnson opposed the action of the courts,

and one of the persons (the second) who suffered made an acknowledgment of his services in her behalf.

Mrs. Hibbins, the widow of William Hibbins, of Boston, and a sister of Governor Bellingham, was tried, convicted, and hung as a witch, in 1656. Her husband had been a merchant of note, and one of the most prominent men in the Colony. He was Deputy for Boston in 1641 and 1642, Assistant from 1643 to 1654, and had represented the Colony as its agent in England. He

Major William Johnson, his third son, was elected Deputy for Woburn in 1674, 1676, and each subsequent year till 1684, when he was chosen an Assistant, and hence became a Magistrate. He succeeded his father also as Clerk of the Town of Woburn, as Selectman, as commander of the militia, and as "Commiffioner to end small caufes." He seems also to have inherited the mental and moral qualities of his father. His handwriting in the Woburn Records so much resembles his father's, that it is difficult to determine where the one ended and the other commenced. The records of separate meetings were then not signed by the Clerk, as is the custom at the present day. Like his father, he bore a conspicuous part in defending the chartered rights of the Colony.

The long-dreaded danger again appeared in a new form. At the instigation of Edward Randolph, a writ of *quo warranto* issued against the Charter of the Massachusetts Colony in July, 1683, and was served the following November; but final judgment adverse to the Colony was not entered till October, 1685. Every resource of remonstrance, argument, and delay was em-

died in 1654. She was first convicted at a jury trial. The Magistrates set aside the verdict, and the case then came before the General Court, where she was again condemned to death. Her body was examined for witchmarks, and her chests and boxes were rummaged for puppets. Hutchinson (i. 173) says that "losses in the latter part of his life reduced her husband's estate [she left, however, a good property], and increased the natural crabbedness of the wife's temper, which made her turbulent and quarrelsome, and at length made her so odious to her neighbors, as to cause some of them to accuse her of witchcraft." She was convicted on such evidence as this: She saw two persons conversing in the street. She came up

and stated that she knew they were talking about her. How could she have known this if she had not been a witch? Hutchinson intimates that there was a deep sympathy felt in her behalf; and "some observed "solemn marks of Providence set upon those "who were very forward to condemn her."

She thus acknowledged the services of Captain Johnson, and of the Secretary of the Colony, in her behalf, in the Codicil she annexed to her Will three days before her execution: "I do earnestly desire my loving friends, Captain Johnson and Mr. Edward Rawson, to be added to the rest of the gentlemen mentioned as overseers of my Will." (Upham's Salem Witchcraft, 1867, i. 425.)

ployed by the colonists to avert this calamity. In these proceedings, Major Johnson was a staunch supporter of the Charter, and incurred the especial enmity of the agents of the King. He was re-elected Assistant in 1685, and again in 1686, although the Charter of the Colony had been abrogated. In the "Articles of high Misdemeanor exhibited against a Faction of the General Court," drawn by Randolph in February, 1681, Major Johnson had the honor to be mentioned by name.¹ In September, 1685, Randolph submitted a list of "well-disposed persons fit to be concerned in the temporary government of Massachusetts Bay;" and also a scheme of a joint House of Assembly, in which Massachusetts should be entitled to twenty Deputies. He mentioned the towns which should be represented. From this list he excluded Woburn, which had previously sent two Deputies; while he included many smaller towns, or grouped them together to send jointly one Deputy.² He knew that Woburn, either separately or in union with other towns, would send Major William Johnson, a person with whom this marplot of tyranny was not ambitious to be brought into further contact. The scheme was not accepted; for the King had resolved to govern the Colony without any representative bodies.

This period of abject despotism was of short duration. James II. was deposed; and William of Orange came to the throne in 1689. The event was hailed by the colonists with unbounded joy.³ Andros, Randolph, and Dudley were forthwith excluded

¹ Hutchinson's Collection, 526.

² Palfrey's New-England, iii. 483.

³ At the uprising of the populace in Boston, April 19, 1689, when the Declaration of the Prince of Orange was received, Major Johnson, with other members of the Board of Assistants elected in 1686, addressed an order to the commander of the Fort on

Castle Island, to deliver up the same, with its stores, to an officer designated; and the order was complied with. The next day, "A Council for the safety of the people and conservation of the peace" was organized, of which Major Johnson was a member. (Hutchinson's Mass. i. 333-340.)

from office, and imprisoned; and a claim was set up by the colonists for a full restoration of their ancient privileges. William Johnson was one of a zealous party who stood out resolutely for the old Charter; and, failing to secure this, would have no Charter at all. Increase Mather, who was at that time in England, used his best exertions to secure its restoration; but, finding this impossible, his next endeavor was to preserve as much of it as he could. The feature most objected to in the new Charter was, that the Governor, his Deputy, and the Secretary, were to be appointed by the Crown, instead of being elected by the people. That these provisions might be made acceptable to the colonists, the Crown graciously asked Mr. Mather to nominate suitable persons for these official positions. The nominations so made were ratified, and the persons commissioned. Sir William Phipps, a former parishioner of Mr. Mather, was Governor, and the Council was composed chiefly of the Assistants who had been appointed by the people in 1686, after the old Charter was abrogated. Several prominent persons, however, in the former board of Assistants, were not nominated, from their well-known hostility to the new Charter.¹ Among these were William Johnson, Elisha Cooke, Thomas Oakes, and Thomas Danforth.² Major Johnson appears to have taken no further part in the government of the Colony. He died at Woburn, May 22, 1704, aged seventy-four years.

It remains only to append the Will of Captain Edward Johnson, copied from the original (in his own handwriting) now in the Probate Files of Middlesex County; with abstracts of the Wills of several of his sons.

¹ The first Council was appointed, on Mr. Mather's nomination, by the Crown, and the persons were named in the new Charter; but subsequent Councils were elected by the representatives of the peo-

ple, subject to the approval of the Governor. Elisha Cooke was elected to the Council in 1693, but was rejected by Sir William Phipps.

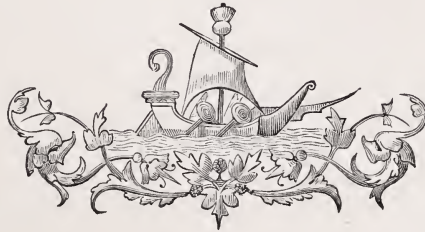
² Hutchinson's Mass. i. 366.

To these is added a "Genealogy of the Descendants of Captain Johnson" to the fourth generation, prepared by Mr. JOHN ALONZO BOUTELLE expressly for this work. Mr. BOUTELLE has made genealogy a specialty; and, residing in Woburn, he has had the best opportunities for making a correct list. Having given to the subject no attention, I can assume none of the credit or responsibility of the compiler's work.

To the memory of a friend, who was a diligent student of history, and, early in the war of the rebellion, rendered a patriot's service by his Historical Research into the military capabilities of an oppressed race; who, a successful merchant, found time, amid the cares of business, to cherish a taste for bibliography, and for general culture; who left behind him a noble library, collected with rare skill; and whose heart and life were good, beautiful, and true,—this work, undertaken partly at his suggestion, is affectionately inscribed.

W. F. P.

BOSTON ATHENÆUM,
Sept. 26, 1867.





WILL OF EDWARD JOHNSON.

The 15th of the 3^d Moneth, 1671.

I, Edward Johnson, of the Town of Wooburn, in New England, make this my will and Testament, in forme & maner following, being in good and sound remembrance, for which ye Lord be Blessed:—

I doe hereby Renounce and make voyd all former wills by me made; and doe declare, that, through Faith in Christ Jefus, I hope to have the fight of my Saviour to all Eternity.

Imp^r. I give to Sufan, my well beloved wife, six pounds per Annum, to be payd her oute of the Rents of my lands in Ould England, by the Hands of my Executors, duering her Natural Life; as allfoe the sole use of the House and land wherein I now dwell, together wth all stocks of corne, and all my Howsehold stuff, together wth all my Cattell; and, after her decease, to com and remayn to those I have in this my will appoynted itt.

2^dly. I give and bequeath to my Eldest Son, Edward, one parcell of medow lying in the Towne of Wooburn, at a place called long medow, at the South End thereof.

3^dly. I give and bequeath to my Grandchild Edward, Son of my Son Edward, one quarter parte of my Farme lying in the parish of Herron Hill, in ould England, to him & his heirs forever, provided his father shall have the Benifit thereof till he come to the age of 21 yeares, excepting that parte his Grandmother is to haue duering her life.

4ly. I give and bequeath to my Son George three pounds, to be paid him in Boords by my Executors; to my Son Mathews Eldest son, one quarter part of my Farme aboue expressed, to him & his heiers for ever.

5ly. I give & bequeath to my Grandchild George, son of my son George, one Dwelling-Howse & Orchard, lying in the parrish of Heron Hill, at a place called

Water-ham, to him & his heiers for ever. Thefe two Eldeft Sons had theire portions enlarged while I lived.

6ly. It. I give & bequeath to my Grandchildren William & Edward, fons of my fone William, each of them one quarter parte of the Farm about expreffed in the parrifh of Hiron Hill; their father to have the benifit thereof till they com to Age.

7ly. It. I give and bequeath to my Sons William and Mathew all my plate, equally to be devided between them after theire mothers Deceafe, whom I will & ordayne Executors of this my Will — my fons I meane.

8ly. It. I give and bequeath to my Grandchild John, fon of my fon John, one fmall tenement lying in the Parifh of Hiron Hill, with a parcell of woodland atjoyning to it, to him & his heires for ever.

9ly. It. I give and bequeath to my fon John one parcel of land lying in Wooborne, which I purchafed of John Low; and alfoe another parcel lying in Wooborne, which I purchafed of Baptife Smedly, — both which I give to my fon John, to him & his heiers for ever.

10ly. I give to my Grandchild William, fon of my fon John, to him & his heiers for ever, the howfe wherein I now dwell, and all the land which was given by Charles-Towne, excepting that parcell of it which I difpofed in my life time to my fons William and Mathew; provided hee, within one yeare after his entry vppon the fayd houfe and Land, pay, in currant pay of the Country, fiveteen pound to James Prentize, fon of James Prentize, my Grandchild: And the like Som to John Ameer, fon of John Ameer, my Grandchild; as alfoe I give him the nereft pece of woodland, given me by Wooborn, that lyes to this Farme; & that no ftrip or waft be made, till he an to enjoy the fame.

11ly. I give & Bequeath to Katherine, Daughter of my Son Edward; and Katherine, Daughter of my Son George; & Hefter, Daughter of my Son William; & Rebecah, daughter of my Son Matthew; and Bethiah, Daughter of my Son John; & Sufan, daughter of my Son in law, Jams Prentize; & Hannah, an other Daughter of my faid Son in lawe; & the Eldeft daughter of my Son in lawe, John Ameer, — to thefe Eaight I give my Howfould ftuff, corne, & cattall, after their grandmother's difceafe, or the valew thereof, to bee equally divided among them.

12ly: I give feven pound, to bee taken out of the firft yeares rent of my Howfes & land in ould England, which fhall purchafe Seven Rings of Gould, the which I give to my Daughters and Daughters in lawe, each of them one. The ref of my Goods & Land undifpofed in this my will, I give to my Executors.

Finally, my will is, that those who are Infeoffed wth my Land in England shall dispose of it as I have declared and given it in this my Will.

Further, my will is, seeing vpon my own knowledg my Son George purchased of my Son Edward & his wife her part of a Howfe in England, & payd them both to their satisfaction, — Therefore my will is, that none their children shall have noe benefit of this my will, till they have made such Affuerrance of the Sale as my Son George doth Require.

Witness to this my Will,

WILLIAM LOCK,

SAMUEL BLOGGET.

Written with my own hand,

EDW : JOHNSON.

An inventory of Captain Johnson's estate, dated April 20 (*sic*), 1672, and returned May 11, 1672, is on file, and gives the whole amount of his property as £706,05,06. His debts (including funeral charges, £4, and "Doctours" bill) were £9,10,00. His homestead was appraised at £159; and "rents, which, by "letters, we suppose to be due in England," at £132. Houses and lands in England (the rents of which were £15 per annum) were appraised at £300. It appears in his Will, that during his life he had given portions of his English and home estate to his children. The above sums, in the currency of that period, represent much larger amounts than at the present day.

His wife Susan, in her Will, dated Dec. 14, 1689, and signed with her mark, says: "I do give and bequeath to my Son John, all my right and due that was given me by my husband, Captain Edward Johnson, I having what I stand in need of for the comfort of my life; and do by this Will make my Son John whole and sole Executor of this my Will, who hath taken care of me since my husband's decease, and with whom I now dwell; and I judge it to be his due, and have hereunto set my hand and seal."

ABSTRACTS OF THE WILLS OF CAPTAIN EDWARD
JOHNSON'S SONS.

I. EDWARD JOHNSON (ELDEST SON), OF CHARLESTOWN, SHIPWRIGHT.

Date June 22, 1692; proved June 12, 1693.

He gives to his wife Katherine the use of all his estate, — dwelling-house, garden, shipyard, &c. After her decease, he gives to his son Edward, £5; to his son William, £5; to his daughter, Katherine Taylor, £10; to his son John, if living, and he returns home to New-England, his dwelling-house, garden, shipyard, and all such other property as may be remaining at his wife's decease. But, if his son John be dead, he gives all to his daughter Katherine's two sons, Richard Taylor and John Taylor.

He appoints his brother, Major William, and his daughter Katherine, to be overseers of his Will.

The inventory of his estate shows property amounting to £120. 15s., and debts amounting to £85. 10s.; leaving the net value of his estate £35. 5s. He signed his Will — which is in the handwriting of his brother William — by making his mark. He was about fourteen years of age when the family came to New-England. Common schools had not then been established in Massachusetts Bay.

II. MAJOR WILLIAM JOHNSON (THIRD SON).

Date May 10, 1695. Inventory made June 17, 1704; proved Sept. 11, 1704.

“First, I give my Soule in to the hands of God Father, Son and holy sperit, three glorious persons, but one Infinite and Eternal Efence, hoping for Salvation in and throu the merrits of Jefus Christ alone, and doe fermly beleue that, though this Body of mine be how euer destroyed, yet at that greate day when all muft appeere before God, I shall with these eys see God and be in his prefants to all eternity.

“2^d. I give my Body to the earth there to be decently Buried at the defcreftion of my executors and overfeers, in hopes of a glorious Refaraction; and, after my juft debts and feveral charges are fatteffy, the rest of that estate God of his bounty hath lent me, I give and despoſe as followeth.”

He gives to his wife Esther the sole use of the homestead and the lands adjacent. To his son William's eldest son, William, and, in case of his death without issue, then to the next two sons, Benjamin and Noah, equally between them, all his housing, orchard, land, meadows, pastures, and all he leaves for the use of his wife, to them and their heirs for ever; provided, that his son William shall have the sole use of the same during his life; and, if his son William leaves no male heirs, then his son Edward's eldest son, and his son Ebenezer's twins, shall inherit all, they paying to the daughter of his son William £100.

To his son Edward he gives all the lands adjoining the house, "for the which I have given him a deed of gift," with other lots; and to Edward's son Edward a certain piece of land. To his sons, Ebenezer, Benjamin, and Josiah, he gives various tracts of land, which are described.

His son Joseph being in a distracted state, he appoints his son Ebenezer to be his guardian, and gives, in trust for Joseph, certain lots of land. In case Joseph comes to his right mind, he is to have and manage the property himself. After his decease, if he have no children, the same shall go to the twins of Ebenezer and Edward's son Edward.

He gives to his daughter Esther £30, and thirty more within four years, and twenty shillings for a ring; to her four daughters a noble [6s. 8d.] apiece; and to her son, Seth Wyman, certain lands. To each of his daughters, Susanna and Abigail, he gives £80 and one of his rings, and one-third of his household goods. To his son William's son Noah he gives certain lots of land. As his son William's share is more than double that of the other children, he requires that William shall build a barn for his brother Joseph.

"My will is that my son Williams wife have that £5 given me by her father Gardner in his will as being overfeer, and £5 more out of my estate; and that my son Williams children, that is to say, Esther, Mary, Hannah, Benjamin, and Noah, have five shillings apiece. I also give to Ebenzers two daughters, and to Edwards three daughters, five shillings apiece, and to Edwards second son a noble."

He appoints his sons Ebenezer and Edward to be executors, to whom he gives all his property not otherwise disposed of; and he makes Benjamin and Josiah overseers. "And thus having finished my Will, I doe exhort and Re-quire all my children to live in peace one with another; and that, above all, they Honor and loue the God of their father and Grandfather, and to walk in their steps so farr as they have walked aright with God; and then I pray the God of loue and peace to be with all. Amen."

In the Codicil he says that his son William lives on his estate, and that he has paid some of William's debts, in consideration of his carrying on the farm. He gives to his daughters Susanna and Abigail, or either of them remaining unmarried, the use of the parlor, the garden, and the inclosure under the hill, with all the fruit on the ledges, if they please. He provides also that none of the children, to whom he has given land, shall have power to sell any of it, "but it shall remain to the male heirs of the Johnsons forever." His Will and Codicil are in his own handwriting.

In the Inventory, his "moveable" estate is appraised at £171. 8s. As he made specific disposal of his real estate in his Will, no appraisal of it was returned. He evidently had a large property for that period.

III. LIEUTENANT MATTHEW JOHNSON (YOUNGEST SON).

Date Nov. 2, 1693; proved July 17, 1696.

He gives to his wife Rebecca the use of homestead and lands adjacent, and one-third of the household furniture.

To his eldest son, Matthew, he gives his house "that is now building," and certain lands, which, "with what his Grandfather gave him in England, will "make him a full double portion." To his son Samuel he gives certain lands, which are described. To his son Henry he gives the homestead, and certain lots of land, and provides that the sons shall pay annually certain articles and sums of money to their mother while she continues a widow. His daughters — Rebecca, Hannah, Ruth, Sarah, and Lydia — are to receive two-nineteenths of the whole estate apiece, in lands, unless their brothers redeem the same; and all the daughters are to be paid at eighteen years of age, or on the day of marriage. He leaves an inventory, and his children are to take the property at his appraisal.

He appoints his sons Matthew and Samuel to be executors, and requests his brother, Major William Johnson, to see that the Will is properly executed. The inventory exhibits property appraised at £497.04.05. Finding it difficult to divide the estate as provided in the Will, the heirs made a special agreement for a division, which they signed Aug. 10, 1696. Of the eight children, Henry and Matthew only signed their names; all the rest made their marks.

The Wills of Captain Edward Johnson's other two sons, George and John, are not in the Files or Records of the Middlesex Probate Office. George is supposed to have returned to England; and John died, probably without property, at Canterbury, Conn.



GENEALOGY

OF THE

DESCENDANTS OF CAPTAIN EDWARD JOHNSON.

PREPARED BY JOHN ALONZO BOUTELLE.

EXPLANATIONS. — The families in this Genealogy are arranged in the order of seniority, the head of the family, having a consecutive number, being in German text. Thus, IV. 53. *William Johnson*, shows that William Johnson is of the fourth generation, and that 53 is his consecutive number, and that, by turning back to the number 53, his name will be found in his father's family.

This mark †, following a consecutive number, and immediately before a person's name, denotes that the person will be subsequently noticed as a head of a family, his name being printed in German text, in the middle of the line, preceded by the consecutive number.

When a woman's name occurs thus: *Esther (Gardner) Johnson*, — it will be understood that the name in parentheses was her original or maiden name, and the name following was acquired by marriage.

I. 1. *Captain Edward Johnson*,

Born in England, 1599; died at Woburn, April 23, 1672. He married *SUSAN (or SUSANNA)* —, who was born in England in 1597, and died at Woburn, 1690.

CHILDREN.

- † Edward, born in England, 1621 or 1622; he was admitted freeman May 2, 1638, and died at Charlestown, Sept. 15, 1692, "upwards of 70;" married, Feb. 10, 1649-50, Katharine Baker.

3. George, born in England. It is supposed that he returned to England. He had children, — 1. George; and, 2. Katharine, — who were named in their Grandfather's Will.
6. † William, born in England, 1629 or 1630; died at Woburn, May 22, 1704; married, May 16, 1665, Esther Wiswall.
7. Martha, born in England; married, March 18, 1649–50, John Eames.
8. † Matthew, born in England, 1634; died at Woburn, July 19, 1696; married, 1st, Nov. 12, 1658, Hannah Palfrey; married, 2d, Dec. 23, 1662, Rebecca Wiswall.
9. † John, born in England, 1635 or 1636; died at Canterbury, Conn.; married, April 28, 1657, Bethiah Reed.
10. Susan, born in England; married James Prentice, of Cambridge, and had children, — 1. James, born March 11, 1656; 2. Susan, June 29, 1657; 3. Hannah, April 24, 1659; 4. Elizabeth, 25th August, 1660; 5. Sarah, 1662; 6. Rose.

II. 2. Edward Johnson,

Son of Captain Edward and Susan Johnson. Born in England, 1621 or 1622; died at Charlestown, Sept. 15, 1692, "upwards of 70." He was by occupation a shipwright and carpenter. He resided at Woburn and Charlestown. He married at Woburn, Feb. 10, 1649–50, KATHARINE BAKER.

CHILDREN.

17. Edward, born at Woburn, Nov. 5, 1650; resided in Charlestown, and Southhold, County of Suffolk, N.Y. He was by occupation a shipwright. He had children by his wife Miriam, who was born at Charlestown, — 1. William; 2. Ebenezer; 3. Susan; 4. Abigail.
22. William, named in his father's Will.
23. John, baptized at Charlestown, 10 April, 1664; named in his father's Will as in doubt whether living or not, and of ever returning to New-England. In June 22, 1694, he was of Boston, shipwright by occupation; and his wife was named Margaret.
24. Katharine, who, with her uncle, Major William Johnson, administered on her father's estate. She married John Taylor, of Charlestown, and had children, — 1. Richard; 2. John; 3. Thomas; 4. Catharine; 5. Sarah.

II. 6. Major William Johnson,

Son of Captain Edward and Susan Johnson. Born in England, 1629 or 1630; died at Woburn, May 22, 1704. He resided in Woburn. In Abstracts of Middlesex Court Files, his age, June 17, 1668, was about 39; and April 24, 1700, he gave his age as seventy. He married at Woburn, May 16, 1655, ESTHER WISWALL, who was baptized in 1635, and died at Woburn, Dec. 27, 1707. She was a daughter of Thomas Wiswall, a ruling elder of the church at Newton.

CHILDREN.

30. † William, born Feb. 26, 1656; died Jan. 10, 1729; married Esther Gardner.
31. † Edward, born March 19, 1658; died Aug. 7, 1725; married, 1st, Jan. 12, 1686-7, Sarah Walker; married, 2d, Abigail —.
32. † Ebenezer, born March 29, 1660; died at Woburn, March 17, 1737; married, April 13, 1691, Sarah Winn.
33. Esther, born April 13, 1662; married, Dec. 17, 1685, Seth Wyman.
34. Joseph, born June 14, 1664; named in his father's Will as being in a distracted frame of mind. He resided with his brother, Ebenezer Johnson.
35. † Benjamin, born Oct. 15, 1666; died April 22, 1733; married, Nov. 22, 1699, Sarah Walker.
36. † Josiah, born Jan. 15, 1669; died Dec. 16, 1739; married, 1st, Jan. 24, 1705-6, Martha Whitmore; married, 2d, Deborah (Giles?).
37. Susanna, born June 29, 1671.
38. Abigail, born Oct. 4, 1674; married, June 14, 1705, Samuel Pierce.

II. 8. Matthew Johnson,

Son of Captain Edward and Susan Johnson. Born in England about 1634; died at Woburn, July 19, 1696. He resided at Woburn. He married, 1st, Nov. 12, 1658, HANNAH PALFREY, who died at Woburn, Aug. 1, 1662. She was the daughter of Peter Palfrey, who died at Reading in 1663. He married, 2d, Oct. 23, 1662, REBECCA WISWALL, baptized Dec. 2, 1638; died at Woburn, Dec. 25, 1709. She was the daughter of Elder John Wiswall, of Boston. Administration to her estate was granted to her eldest son, Matthew Johnson, Dec. 29, 1709.

CHILDREN.

39. Rebecca, born March 1, 1665; married, 1692, Samuel Simonds.
 40. † Matthew, born March 18, 1667; died Aug. 8, 1740; married, 1st, Dec. 12, 1695, Mary Reed; married, 2d, Nov. 30, 1704, Alice Ward; married, 3d, Hannah —.
41. Hannah, born April 23, 1669; married Samuel Simonds.
 42. † Samuel, born April 28, 1672; married Mary —.
43. Lydia, married Samuel Bloget.
 44. Ruth, born Jan. 1, 1674-5; married, Jan. 10, 1697-8, John Reed.
 45. Sarah, born April 14, 1677; married, Jan. 17, 1699-1700, Daniel Reed.
 46. Henry, born April 7, 1683; died at Woburn, probably in 1752. He left considerable property, but had no family. His Will, of July 9, 1751, was proved Sept. 30, 1754.
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II. 9. John Johnson,

Son of Captain Edward and Susan Johnson. Born 1635 or 1636; died at Canterbury, Conn. He resided in Woburn and Canterbury, and was by occupation a housewright, or carpenter, and owned in Woburn a saw-mill. May 16, 1712, Obadiah Johnson, of Canterbury, Conn., proposed to the town of Woburn to take his aged father, John Johnson (then under the care of Dr. Kittridge, of Tewksbury, for lameness), and his own mother Bethia, and maintain them. (Woburn Town Records.) He married, April 28, 1657, BETHIA REED, who died at Canterbury, Conn., about the year 1718. She was the daughter of William and Mabel Reed, of Woburn. Her father returned to "Newcastle upon the Tyn," where he died. A copy of his Will was sent to New-England, and is on file at the Probate Office for Middlesex County.

CHILDREN.

47. John, born Feb. 24, 1658-9; married Mary —. He was a carpenter, and lived at Cambridge Farms.
 48. Bethia, born Feb. 20, 1659-60; married — Woolcott. Sarah Knight and Abigail Knight, unmarried, are named as daughters of said Bethia Woolcott, April 23, 1695.
 49. William, born Sept. 29, 1662; moved to Canterbury, Conn.
 50. Obadiah, born June 15, 1664; moved to Canterbury, Conn., about the year 1690.
 51. Samuel, born Oct. 29, 1670.
 52. Nathaniel, born May 15, 1673.

III. 30. *William Johnson,*

Son of Major William and Esther (Wiswall) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Feb. 26, 1656-7; died at Woburn, Jan. 10, 1729-30. He resided in Woburn and in Charlestown, where he was a shipwright. He married ESTHER GARDNER, who was born at Woburn, Oct. 15, 1659, and died at Woburn, Dec. 17, 1706. She was the daughter of Richard Gardner, of Woburn.

CHILDREN.

53. †William, born March 28, 1686; married, 1st, Jan. 1, 1707-8, Sarah Dole, of Newbury; married, 2d, Hannah —.
 54. Esther, died Nov. 16, 1710.
 55. Mary, died about 1710.
 56. Hannah, or Anna, not married.
 57. †Benjamin, married Rebecca —.
 58. †Noah, a cordwainer, and was called "Sergeant."
 59. Ruth.
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III. 31. *Edward Johnson,*

Son of Major William and Esther (Wiswall) Johnson. Born at Woburn, March 19, 1658; died at Woburn, Aug. 7, 1725,—68. He was captain of the military band of Woburn, and for many years was a selectman of the town, deacon of the church, and was Deputy to the General Court in 1700. He resided in that part of Woburn which is now Burlington, and, it is supposed, in a house once used as a garrison-house, opposite of the house of Mr. Alfred B. Shaw. He died, it is said, of grief for the loss of his favorite son, Ichabod, who was killed by the Indians. (Rev. S. Sewall.) He married, 1st, Jan. 12, 1686-7, SARAH WALKER, who was born in Woburn, March 6, 1670-1, and died May 31, 1704. She was the daughter of Samuel Walker, of Woburn. He married, 2d, ABIGAIL —, who outlived her husband. His Will, of Aug. 5, 1725, was proved Sept. 3, 1725.

CHILDREN BY FIRST WIFE.

60. Edward, born Oct. 12, 1687; died Jan. 3, 1687-8.
61. †Edward, born May 4, 1689; died Oct. 5, 1774; married, 1st, Rebecca Reed; married, 2d, Dec. 13, 1750, Esther Coolidge; married, 3d, Feb. 19, 1755, Sarah Wilson.

62. Sarah ; married — Simonds.
 63. Esther, born Jan. 26, 1693-4 ; died April 13, 1786 ; married John Stearns, of Billerica, son of Lieut. John and Elizabeth (Bigelow) Stearns.
 64. † Samuel, born Feb. 21, 1695-6 ; died about 1764 ; married, 1st, Feb. 19, 1724-5, Mary Butters ; married, 2d, Jan. 1, 1742-3, Priscilla Emery ; married, 3d, Dec. 25, 1751, Hannah Wyman.
 65. Abigail, married Dec. 11, 1717, Timothy Richardson.
 66. Susanna, born Jan. 14, 1700 ; married, May 23, 1722, Samuel Jones.
 67. Ichabod, born April 22, 1703 ; was killed by the Indians at Lovewell's fight, May 8, 1725.

CHILDREN BY SECOND WIFE.

68. Elizabeth, born Nov. 6, 1705 ; married, Jan. 1, 1723, Joseph Winn, of West Nottingham, N.H.
 69. † Joseph, born June 22, 1708 ; married, July 5, 1739, Sarah Thompson ; died Oct. 3, 1793.

III. 32. Ebenezer Johnson,

Son of Major William and Esther (Wiswall) Johnson. Born at Woburn, March 29, 1660 ; died at Woburn, March 17, 1737. He married, April 13, 1691, SARAH WINN, who was born at Woburn, Nov. 9, 1666, and died Oct. 23, 1733. She was the daughter of Ensign Joseph and Rebecca (Reed) Winn.

CHILDREN.

70. Ebenezer, born April 11, 1692 ; died April 14, 1692.
 71. Sarah, born Sept. 28, 1693.
 72. Abigail, born June 13, 1697 ; married Oliver Farmer, of Billerica. They were great-grandparents of John Farmer, the noted New-England antiquary.
 73. { † Ebenezer, born Sept. 7, 1699 ; died about 1756 ; married, May 19, 1725,
 Sarah Stearns, of Billerica.
 74. { William, born Sept. 7, 1699 ; died Feb. 11, 1708-9.
 75. † Joseph, born Feb. 9, 1701-2 ; died June 29, 1798 ; married, May 8, 1734, Elizabeth Baldwin.
 76. † Timothy, born July 15, 1705 ; married, Nov. 11, 1734, Mary Wyman.

III. 35. Benjamin Johnson,

Son of Major William and Esther (Wiswall) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Oct. 15, 1666; died at Woburn, April 22, 1733. He resided in what is now Burlington; and, June 3, 1732, gave a lot of land at a place called Forest Hill, near his residence, for a meeting-house. He married, Nov. 22, 1699, SARAH WALKER, who died in January, 1748.

CHILDREN.

77. † Benjamin, born Oct. 8, 1700; died May 4, 1781; married, April 10, 1728, Mary Walker.
 78. Josiah, born July 28, 1702; was wounded in the Lovewell fight.
 79. † Seth, born April 23, 1707; died at Pelham; married Mary ——.
 80. Sarah, born March 19, 1708-9.
 81. Hannah, born Sept. 7, 1710.
 82. Esther, born Feb. 2, 1715; married, Oct. 21, 1736, John Wood.

III. 36. Josiah Johnson,

Son of Major William and Esther (Wiswall) Johnson. Born Jan. 15, 1669-70; died Dec. 16, 1739. He married, 1st, Jan. 1, 1705-6, MARTHA WHITMORE, who died Aug. 25, 1715. He married, 2d, DEBORAH GILES, who died Jan. 5, 1723-4.

CHILDREN BY FIRST WIFE.

83. Martha, born Nov. 3, 1706.
 84. Abigail, born April 4, 1708.
 85. † Josiah, born Feb. 24, 1710; died Dec. 24, 1784. He married, 1st, Hannah Wood; married, 2d, Aug. 5, 1771, Susanna (Kendall) Brooks.
 86. † Francis, born Feb. 13, 1712; married Sarah Wyman.
 87. Hannah, born Aug. 19, 1716.

CHILD BY SECOND WIFE.

88. Giles, born April 12, 1718; married Abigail Reed.

III. 40. **Matthew Johnson,**

Son of Matthew and Rebecca (Wiswall) Johnson. Born March 18, 1667; died Aug. 8, 1740. He married, 1st, Dec. 12, 1695, MARY REED, who died Oct. 14, 1703. He married, 2d, Nov. 30, 1704, ALICE WARD, who died July 31, 1707. He married, 3d, HANNAH —, who outlived her husband, and administered on his estate.

CHILDREN.

89. Mary, born Sept. 12, 1696; married, Nov., 1717, Ebenezer Knight.
 90. Hannah, born Nov. 28, 1699; married — Cooper.
 91. Matthew, born Sept. 3, 1702; died Jan. 12, 1729-30; married Anna —.
 92. Sarah, born Sept. 15, 1703; married, May 14, 1722, John Bloggett.
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III. 42. **Samuel Johnson,**

Son of Matthew and Rebecca (Wiswall) Johnson. Born April 28, 1672; died probably at Lancaster. He was a farmer, and resided at Woburn and at Lancaster. He married MARY —.

CHILDREN.

93. Samuel, born July 7, 1705.
 94. Mary, born Jan. 8, 1706-7.
 95. Daniel, born Aug. 20, 1708.
 96. Joshua, born April 17, 1712.
 97. Elizabeth, born Dec. 20, 1717.
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IV. 53. **William Johnson,**

Son of William and Esther (Gardner) Johnson. Born March 28, 1686; died at Mansfield, Conn., Feb. 29, 1752. He resided at Woburn, and at Mansfield, Conn. He married, 1st, Jan. 1, 1707, SARAH DOLE, who was born at Newbury, Feb. 14, 1681, and died at Woburn, Oct. 14, 1710. She was daughter of Richard and Sarah (Greenleaf) Dole. He married, 2d, HANNAH —.

CHILDREN BY FIRST WIFE.

98. Sarah, born May 3, 1709; married John Noyes, of Newbury.
 99. Dole, born Sept. 30, 1710.

CHILDREN BY SECOND WIFE.

100. William, born March 27, 1718; married, Jan. 26, 1748, Abigail, daughter of Edmund Freeman, of Mansfield, Conn.
 101. Hannah, born March 31, 1719.
 102. Joseph, born April 28, 1720; died May 31, 1787, at Mansfield, Conn.; married Abigail, daughter of Samuel Slafter, of Mansfield, Conn., and had children, — Abigail, Joseph, Ruth, Hannah, William, and Josiah.
 103. Enoch, born Sept. 16, 1721.
 104. Rebecca, born April 8, 1723.
 105. Hezekiah, born May 12, 1724; died 1806, at Norwich, Vt.; married Dorothy, daughter of Samuel Slafter, of Mansfield, Conn., and had children, — Esther, Experience, Samuel Slafter, Hezekiah, and Dorothy.
 106. Azariah, born Nov. 18, 1726.
 107. Esther, born Dec. 30, 1727.
 108. Experience, born July 19, 1729.
 109. Mary, born Dec. 21, 1730.
 110. Ruth, born May 5, 1732.

 IV. 57. Benjamin Johnson,

Son of William and Esther (Gardner) Johnson. Born probably at Charlestown, and resided at Woburn. He married REBECCA —.

CHILDREN.

111. Rebecca, born May 4, 1719.
 112. Esther, born May 8, 1721.

 IV. 58. Noah Johnson,

Son of William and Esther (Gardner) Johnson. Born probably at Charlestown, Feb. 2, 1699. Resided at Dunstable at the time of Lovewell's fight, and

was the last survivor of those engaged in that action. He removed to Pembroke, N.H. (then called Suncook), and subsequently to Plymouth, N.H., where he died Aug. 13, 1798, aged 99 years, 6 months, and 11 days. (Rev. S. Sewall.)

CHILDREN.

- 113. Elizabeth, born Oct. 3, 1728.
- 114. Noah, born May 27, 1730.
- 115. Edward, who was killed in the old French War.

IV. 61. Edward Johnson,

Son of Edward and Sarah (Walker) Johnson. Born at Woburn, May 4, 1689; died Oct. 5, 1774. He took an active part in gathering the church in the Second Parish of Woburn, now Burlington; was chosen a deacon of that church in 1741. Deacon Johnson lived upon the farm in Burlington, on the road to Lexington, which continued in possession of the family for one hundred and twenty-five years. It is now in the possession of E. W. Willard. He married, 1st, REBECCA REED, who was the mother of his thirteen children. He married, 2d, Dec. 13, 1750, ESTHER (MASON) COOLIDGE, who was born July 8, 1686. She was the widow of Captain Joseph Coolidge, of Watertown, and daughter of Joseph and Mary (Fiske) Mason. He married, 3d, Feb. 19, 1775, SARAH WILSON, who was born Dec. 13, 1693? and died March 12, 1775. She was the widow of Samuel Wilson, and daughter of James and Susanna Simonds.

CHILDREN.

- 116. Rebecca, born April 22, 1712; married Ebenezer Wyman.
- 117. Mary, born Oct. 26, 1713; married Enoch Richardson.
- 118. Edward, born Sept. 28, 1715; moved to Leominster, and was drowned in a well.
- 119. Joshua, born Feb. 16, 1716-17; removed to Bolton (now Berlin).
- 120. Eleazer, born Feb. 27, 1718-19; removed to Bolton.
- 121. Jonathan, born June 13, 1720; died Nov. 30, 1793; married Sarah, daughter of Samuel and Sarah Wilson; resided at Leominster, and at Woburn Precinct, where he died. He had children,—
- 122. 1. Jonathan, born Feb. 1, 1751-52; married Lydia Jaquith.
- 123. 2. Jotham, born Nov. 28, 1753; married Eunice, daughter of Deacon Samuel and Eunice Reed.

124. 3. Sarah, born May 24, 1759.
 125. 4. Lucy, born Nov. 4, 1761; married General John Walker, of Burlington. They were parents of Rev. James Walker, D.D., President of Harvard College.
 126. 5. Ichabod, born Sept. 16, 1764; married Sally Reed; died Aug. 5, 1807.
 127. Nathan, born Nov. 11, 1721; resided in Leominster.
 128. Abigail, born July 15, 1723; married, 1st, June 5, 1744, Samuel Wilson; married, 2d, Nov. 10, 1751, Simeon Spaulding, of Chelmsford.
 129. Ichabod, born Dec. 23, 1724; lived on the Moseley place.
 130. Lucy, born Jan. 3, 1725-6; not married.
 131. Jonas, born Jan. 17, 1727-8.
 132. Asa, born Feb. 16, 1728-9; resided in Leominster.
 133. Susanna, born Oct. 23, 1730; married, May 2, 1755, Joshua Kendall.

IV. 64. Samuel Johnson,

Son of Edward and Sarah (Walker) Johnson. Born Feb. 23, 1695-6; died in 1764. He resided in Woburn. He married, 1st, Feb. 19, 1724-5, MARY BUTTERS, who died Aug. 7, 1730. He married, 2d, Jan. 1, 1742-3, PRISCILLA EMERY. He married, 3d, Dec. 25, 1751, HANNAH WYMAN.

CHILDREN.

134. Samuel, born May 18, 1725.
 135. Reuben, born May 12, 1727; married Sarah, daughter of Ebenezer Johnson.
 136. Mary, married, Nov. 4, 1756, James Boutelle.
 137. Abigail.
 138. Edward, born Oct. 23, 1743.

IV. 69. Joseph Johnson,

Son of Edward and Abigail Johnson. Born at Woburn, June 22, 1708. He married, July 5, 1739, SARAH THOMPSON, who died Sept. 11, 1778.

CHILDREN.

139. Abigail, born Dec. 30, 1741; died unmarried, aged about ninety.
 140. Abiathar, born Nov. 2, 1743; married, July 9, 1767, Sarah Skilton.
 141. Sarah, born Oct. 25, 1745.
 142. Susannah, born Aug. 5, 1748.
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IV. 73. Ebenezer Johnson,

Twin son of Ebenezer and Sarah (Winn) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Sept. 7, 1699; died in 1756. His Will, of May 31, 1756, proved Nov. 22, 1756, is on file. In it he speaks of "being about to go into his Majesty's service in the Expedition formed against Crown Point." He married, May 19, 1725, SARAH STEARNS, who was born at Billerica, March 26, 1703, and died May 24, 1779. She was the daughter of Isaac and Mary (Merriam) Stearns, of Billerica.

CHILDREN.

143. Ebenezer, born Sept. 3, 1726.
 144. Sarah, born Sept. 20, 1728.
 145. James, born May 8, 1731.
 146. William, born Feb. 25, 1732-3.
 147. Obadiah, who died Oct. 21, 1736.
 148. Ruth, born Dec. 3, 1738.
 149. Rebecca, born March 31, 1742.
 150. Joanna, named in her father's Will.
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IV. 75. Joseph Johnson,

Son of Ebenezer and Sarah (Winn) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Feb. 9, 1701-2; died June 29, 1798. He married, May 8, 1734, ELIZABETH BALDWIN, who died Dec. 31, 1780, aged 78 years, 7 months.

CHILDREN.

151. Sarah, born March 17, 1734-5.
 152. Joseph, born Nov. 7, 1738; died Oct. 14, 1797.
 153. Elizabeth, born May 22, 1741; married, May 10, 1768, Thomas Skilton, Jr.
 154. Sybil, born Dec. 15, 1747; married, Jan. 27, 1768, Jonathan Carter.

IV. 76. Timothy Johnson,

Brother of the preceding. Born at Woburn, July 15, 1705; married, Nov. 1, 1734, MARY WYMAN.

CHILDREN.

155. Mary, born July 30, 1735.
 156. Timothy, not married.
 157. Isabel, married, April 24, 1770, Thomas Deane, Jr.
 158. Rebecca, married, July 18, 1772, Jonas Deane.
 159. Jemima, not married.
 160. Abigail, not married.
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IV. 77. Benjamin Johnson,

Son of Benjamin and Sarah (Walker) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Oct. 8, 1700; died May 4, 1781. He resided on Forest Hill, Woburn (now Burlington), and on the place, I suppose, where Rev. S. Sewall now resides. He married, April 10, 1728, MARY WALKER, who died June 5, 1762 or '63.

CHILDREN.

161. Joel, born Jan. 31, 1728-9; died Sept. 4, 1738.
 162. Mary, born Nov. 6, 1730.
 163. Azel, born July 9, 1732; married, Oct. 13, 1757, Rebecca Wilson.
 164. Judith, born Feb. 26, 1733-4.
 165. Benjamin, born April 12, 1736; died at college, June 21, 1756.
 166. Shubael, born March 12, 1738; married, Dec. 9, 1760, Mary Cutler.
 167. Keziah, born April 9, 1741.
 168. Ruth, born June 1, 1743.
 169. Abijah, born June 13, 1745; married, May 7, 1765, Mary Reed.
 170. Enoch, born May 12, 1748.
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IV. 79. Seth Johnson,

Brother of the preceding. Born at Woburn, April 23, 1707; died at Pelham, N.H. He probably moved to Pelham, N.H., after the birth of his children, who were all born at Woburn. He married MARY —.

CHILDREN.

171. } Mary, born Feb. 24, 1733-4.
 172. } Martha, born Feb. 24, 1733-4; married, Sept. 20, 1752, Solomon Wood.
 173. Seth, born Nov. 23, 1736.
 174. Silas, born Jan. 24, 1739-40; died July 6, 1743.
 175. Amos, born Feb. 16, 1742-3.
 176. Silas, born July 18, 1745.
 177. Abel, born May 28, 1748.
 178. Jonas, born June 16, 1750.
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IV. 85. Josiah Johnson,

Son of Josiah and Martha (Whitmore) Johnson. Born at Woburn, Feb. 24, 1709-10; died at Woburn, Dec. 24, 1784. About the year 1743, he moved to the house where his grandson, Levi Johnson, now lives. The last part of his life he dwelt on what is now called the "Oliver Bacon place," about one-half mile south-west from Woburn Common. He married, 1st, HANNAH WOOD, who died March 14, 1771-2. He married, 2d, SUSANNA (KENDALL) BROOKS, who was born July 5, 1724, and died Dec. 19, 1808.

CHILDREN BY FIRST WIFE.

179. Josiah, born Feb. 26, 1736-7; died June, 1807. He married, Dec. 22, 1760, Sarah Gardner.
 180. Hannah, born May 14, 1740; died Dec. 13, 1798. She married — Sawyer, and moved to Atkinson, N.H.
 181. David, born Jan. 7, 1741-2; married, Jan. 10, 1765, Mary Richardson.
 182. Martha, born Dec. 30, 1743; not married.
 183. Daniel, born September, 1746; lived on the "Oliver Bacon place." He married, Dec. 20, 1770, Joanna Pollard.
 184. Isaac, born October, 1749.
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IV. 86. Francis Johnson,

Brother of the preceding. Born at Woburn, Feb. 13, 1712-13. He resided in Woburn, on "Johnson Lane," a short distance from the main road leading from Widow Luke Reed's to Arlington. He married, Jan. 23, 1740-1, SARAH WYMAN.

CHILDREN.

185. Sarah, born Dec. 4, 1743; married, April 27, 1769, Samuel Tay.
186. Francis, born April 2, 1746; married, June 27, 1771, Abigail Brooks.
187. John, born Aug. 14, 1748; died in childhood.
188. Seth, born Dec. 8, 1750; married, Feb. 10, 1780, Abigail Symmes.
189. Esther, born May 3, 1753; resided in Concord, N.H. She married Jonathan Eastman.
190. John, born Feb. 4, 1757; married, Dec. 9, 1783, Achsah Simonds.
191. Frederic, born March 29, 1759; married Rhoda Reed.
192. Josiah, born April 25, 1761; died July 14, 1786.
193. Noah, born June 3, 1763; died Sept. 14, 1784.
194. Susanna; died April 21, 1786, aged 21.





Wonder-Working Providence

OF

SIONS SAVIOUR IN NEW-ENGLAND.

1654.



A
HISTORY
OF
New-England.

From the English planting in the Yeere
1628. untill the Yeere 1652.

Declaring the form of their Government,

Civill, Military, and Ecclesiastique. Their Wars with
the Indians, their Troubles with the Gortonists,
and other Heretiques. Their manner of gathering
of Churches, the commodities of the Country,
and description of the principall Towns
and Havens, with the great encour-
agements to increafe Trade
betwixt them and Old

ENGLAND.

With the names of all their Governours, Magistrates,
and Eminent Ministers.

PSAL. 107.24.

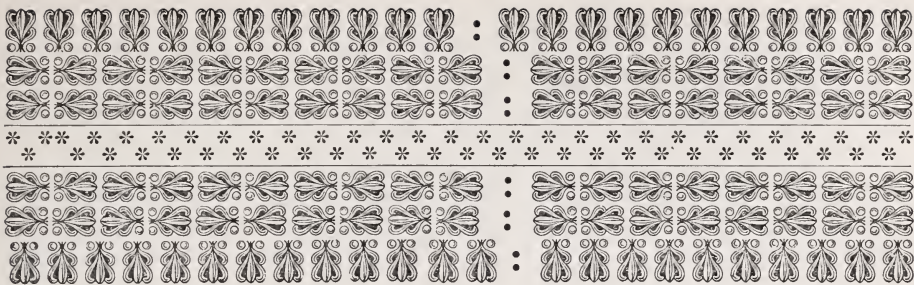
*The righteous shall see it and rejoyce, and all iniquity shall stop her
mouth.*

PSAL. III.2.

*The works of the Lord are great, and ought to be sought out of all that
have pleasure in them.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for NATH: BROOKE at the *Angel*
in *Corn-hill*. 1654.



To the READER.

Good READER,



S large Gates to small Edifices, so are long Prefaces to little Bookes; therefore I will breisfly informe thee, that here thou shalt find, the time when, the manner how, the cause why, and the great successe which it hath pleased the Lord to give, to this handfull of his praying Saints in N. Engl. and it will be clearely demonstrated, if thou compare them, with any other people, who have left their Countreyes, as the Gothes, Vandals, &c. to possesse a fatter, as Italy, or warmer, as Spaine, &c. But these forsooke a fruitfull Land, stately Buildings, goodly Gardens, Orchards, yea, deare Friends, and neere relations, to goe to a desart Wildernesse, thousands of leagues by Sea, both turbulent and dangerous; also many have travelled to see famous Cities, strong Fortifications, &c. or in hope to enjoy a settled habitation, where riches are attained with ease. But here the onely encouragements were the laborious breaking up of bushy ground, with the continued toyl of erecting houses, for themselves and cattell, in this howling desart; all which they underwent, with much cheerfulnesse, that they might enjoy Christ and his Ordinances in their primitive purity.

And

To the R E A D E R.

And now, you, my honoured Countrey-men, who have with indefatigable paines, and expence of a great part of your Estates, furthered this blessed work: Behold how the Lord of Hosts hath carried it on in despite of all opposition from his and their enemies, in planting of his Churches in this New World, with the excellent frame of their Government, both civil and military, already established; but why stop I you at the Threshold? go in, and seriously consider this Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour. In the perusing of which, if thou receivest profit or delight, and God may have glory thereby, he hath attained the end that he aimed at, and full satisfaction for all his paynes, who heartily wishes thee all the good, both of this life, and a better life, in him who is a Christians all in all.

T. H.



VVonder-working PROVIDENCE
OF
SIONS SAVIOUR.

Being a Relation of the first planting in *New England*,
in the Yeare, 1628.

CHAP. I.

*The sad Condition of England, when this
People removed.*



When *England* began to decline in Religion, like luke-warme *Laodicea*, and instead of purging out Popery, a farther compliance was sought not onely in vaine Idolatrous Ceremonies, but also in prophaning the Sabbath, and by Proclamation throughout their Parish churches, exasperating lewd and prophane persons to celebrate a Sabbath like the Heathen to *Venus*, *Baccus* and *Ceres*; in so much that the multitude of irreligious lascivious and popish affected persons spred the whole land like *Grasshoppers*, in this very time Christ the glorious King of his Churches, raises an Army out of our *English* Nation, for freeing his people from their long servitude under usurping Prelacy; and because every corner of *England* was filled with the fury of malignant adversaries, Christ creates a *New England* to muster up the first of his Forces in; Whose low condition, little number, and remoteness of place made these

these adversaries triumph, despising this day of small things, but in this hight of their pride the *Lord Christ* brought sudden, and unexpected destruction upon them. Thus have you a touch of the time when this worke began.

Christ Jesus intending to manifest his Kingly Office toward his Churches more fully than ever yet the Sons of men saw, even to the uniting of *Jew* and *Gentile* Churches in one Faith, begins with our *English* Nation (whose former reformation being vere imperfect) doth now resolve to cast down their false foundation of Prelacy, even in the hight of their domineering dignity. And therefore in the yeere 1628, he stirres up his servants as the Heralds of a King to make this proclamation for Voluntiers, as followeth.

Oh yes! oh yes! oh yes! *All you the people of Christ that are here Oppressed, Imprisoned and scurrilously derided, gather yourselves together, your Wives and little ones, and answer to your severall Names as you shall be shipped for his service, in the Westerne World, and more especially for planting the united Collonies of new England; Where you are to attend the service of the King of Kings, upon the divulging of this Proclamation by his Herralds at Armes.* Many (although otherwise willing for this service) began to object as followeth:

Can it possible be the mind of Christ, (who formerly inabled so many Souldiers of his to keepe their station unto the death here) that now so many brave Souldiers disciplined by Christ himselfe the Captaine of our salvation, should turne their backs to the disheartning of their Fellow-Souldiers, and losse of further opportunity in gaining a greater number of Subjects to Christs Kingdome?

Notwithstanding this Objection, It was further proclaimed as followeth: What Creature, wilt not know that Christ thy King crusheth with a rod of Iron, the Pompe and Pride of man, and must he like man cast and contrive to take his enemies at advantage? No, of purpose hee causeth such instruments to retreat as hee hath made strong for himselfe: that so his adversaries glorying in the pride of their power, insulting over the little remnant remaining, Christ causeth them to be cast downe suddenly forever, and wee find in stories reported, Earths Princes have passed their

their Armies at need over Seas and deepe Torrents. Could *Cæsar* so suddenly fetch over fresh forces from *Europe* to *Asia*, *Pompy* to foyle? How much more shall Christ who createth all power, call over this 900 league Ocean at his pleasure, such instruments as he thinks meete to make use of in this place, from whence you are now to depart, but further that you may not delay the Voyage intended, for your full satisfaction, know this is the place where the Lord will create a new Heaven, and a new Earth in, new Churches, and a new Common-wealth together; Wherefore,

CHAP. II.

The Commission of the People of Christ shipped for New England, and first of their gathering into Churches.

Attend to your Commission, all you that are or shall hereafter be shipped for this service, yee are with all possible speed to imbarque your selves, and as for all such Worthies who are hunted after as *David* was by *Saul* and his Courtiers, you may change your habit and ship you with what secrecy you can, carrying all things most needfull for the Voyage and service you are to be employed in after your landing. But as soone as you shall be exposed to danger of tempestious Seas, you shall forthwith shew whose servants you are by calling on the Name of your God, sometimes by extraordinary seeking his pleasing Face in times of deepe distresse, and publishing your Masters will, and pleasure to all that Voyage with you, and that is his minde to have purity in Religion preferred above all dignity in the world; your Christ hath commanded the Seas they shall not swallow you, nor Pyrates imprison your persons, or possesse your goods. At your landing see you observe the Rule of his Word, for neither larger nor stricter Commission can hee give by any, and therefore at first filling the Land whither you are sent, with diligence, search out the mind of God both in planting and continuing Church and civill Government, but be sure they be distinct, yet agreeing and helping the one to the other; Let the matter and forme of your Churches be such as were in the Primitive Times (before *Antichrists* Kingdome prevailed) plainly

pointed out by Christ and his Apostles, in most of their Epistles to be neither Nationall nor Provincially, but gathered together in Covenant of such a number as might ordinarily meete together in one place, and built of such living stones as outwardly appeare Saints by calling. You are also to ordaine Elders in every Church, make you use of such as Christ hath indued with the best gifts for that end, their call to Office shall be mediate from you, but their authority and commission shall be immediate from Christ revealed in his word; which, if you shall slight, despise or contemne, hee will soone frustrate your call by taking the most able among you to honour with an everlasting Crown; whom you neglected to honour on Earth double as their due, or he will carry them remote from you to more infant Churches. You are not to put them upon anxious Cares for their daily Bread, for assuredly (although it may now seeme strange) you shall be fed in this Wildernesse, whither you are to goe, with the flower of Wheate and Wine shall be plentifull among you (but be sure you abuse it not) these Doctrines delivered from the Word of God imbrace, and let not Satan delude you by perswading their learned skill is unnecessary, soone then will the Word of God be slighted as translated by such, and you shall be left wildred with strange Revelations of every phantastick brain; which to prevent here are to be shipped among you many both Godly, Judicious and Learned, who

 CHAP. III.

Of the Demeanor of their Church Officers.

BEing called to Office are in all humility to feed the flock of Christ, and not for lucre to admit mostly of such sheepe, whose faire fleeces allure much: nor yet for filling the flocks to crowd in infectious sheepe, or rather wolves in sheepes cloathing, assuredly it will prove bitternesse in the end: neither shall you for feare your allowance will fall short, hinder the increase of Churches, that so your fellow brethren indued with like gifts fall short of all; But above all beware of any love selfe-conceited Opinion, stopping your ears from hearing the Counsell of an Orthodox Synod, but by daily communication one
with

with another impart Christs minde each to other, that you may all speake one and the same things; heale not lightly the wounds that Wolves make, lest from their festering Teeth a Gangrin grow; and further for compleating the Churches of Christ as well in matters as in Doctrines, there are ancient experienced godly Christians shipped among you (but be sure you make choise of such, for feare they be despised) and let them not be led by favor or affection (as naturally men are) to Administer in your Office partially, for unworthy the name of a Ruling Elder is hee, who loses his Lyon-like courage, when the sound and wholesome Doctrines delivered by Pastor or Teacher are spoken against by any; unseemely behaviour and sleepey hearing by private exhortation prevent (if possible) lest publick example in open professors stumble some and hinder the operation of his word, especially in the hearts of those who have bin long time led away with the inventions of man in the worship of God. Be sure you contradict not but confirme with trienall love the Doctrines of Christ, delivered by your Teaching Elders, which will be a great means to make it prevaile, for a three-fold cord is not easily broken, trust not to your own gifts for preventing error, but use all helpes that Christ may blese his own meanes, cast not away as incorrigible such as at first receive not the word in all points, but wait with patience if at any time the Lord will be pleased to give them a heart to turne unto him. Beware of a proud censorious spirit, and should Christ be pleased to place in his building more polished stones then thy selfe, make it matter of rejoycing and not of envy. And further, because the Preaching of the word is to be continued with all diligence, here are likewise imbarcked with you faithful servants of Christ to attend on the Tables of the Churches, plaine-dealing men, yea, indued with wisdom from above, by which they are inabled to manage and improve the Churches Treasury, not greedily given to hoord up for themselves, but by their own example leading others to liberality, and hospitality, having the Earth in low esteeme, and Faith in exercise when Cattell and Corne fayle, not given to magnifie their own gifts, but boldly maintayning such sound truths as their Teaching Elders have cleared up from the word of God. And,

CHAP. IV.

How the People in Christs Churches are to behave themselves.

Now you his People, who are pickt out by his, provide to passe this *Westerne* Ocean for this honourable service, beware you call not weake ones to Office in this honorable Army, nor Novices, lest they be lifted up with pride. You see how full you are furnished for the worke, give no eare to any Braggadociaes, who to extoll themselves will weaken the hands of those whom Christ hath made strong for himselfe. Yea, such will be the phantasticall madnesse of some (if you take not heed) that silly Women laden with diverse lusts, will be had in higher esteeme with them, then those honoured of Christ, indued with power and authority from him to Preach; Abuse not the free and full liberty Christ hath given you in making choyce of your own Officers, and consent in admitting into his Churches, and casting out such Members as walke disorderly; you are to walke in all humility, lest in injoyment of such freedoms as you formerly have not exercised, you exceede the bounds of modesty, and instead of having your moderation knowne to all, your imbecility, and selfe-exaltation bee discovered by many, in admission of others into Church society. Remember your selves were once Aliens from the Covenant of Grace, and in Excommunication, consider how your selves have been also tempted: in sincerity and singleness of heart, let your words be few, do nothing be had in high esteeme among men; And think it no imputation of a weake discerning to be followes of those are set over you in the Lord as they follow Christ; Let your Profession outstrip your Confession, for seeing you are to be set as lights upon a Hill more obvious than the highest Mountaine in the World, keepe close to Christ that you may shine full of his glory, who imployes you, and grub not continually in the Earth, like blind *Moles*, but by your amiable Conversation seeke the winning of many to your Masters service. Beware of a proud censorious spirit, make it no part of your Christian communication to be in continuall discourse of others faults; Let all things be done in

in love, and looke not for more smoothnesse in stoncs as yet unplaced in Christs building then is in thy selfe, who hast been long layd therein: wait with patience and cast not off as Reprobates such as cannot presently joyne with you in every poynt of Discipline, and yet hold fast to sound and wholesome Doctrines, if you will be a people to his prayse, who hath called you, seeke the turning of many to Righteousnesse, purge out all the sowre Leaven of unsound Doctrines, for the minde of Christ is to build up his Churches, and breake them down no more; And therefore be sure there be none to hurt or destroy in all his holy Mountaine, and as he hath pressed you for his service, that by passing through the Floods of Persecution you should be set at liberty, and have power put into your hands. Then let none wrest it from you under pretence of liberty of Conscience, men of perverse judgements will draw Disciples after them, but let your consciences be pure, and Christs Churches free from all Doctrines that deceive. And all you, who are or shall be shipped for this worke, thinke it not enough that you enjoy the truth, but you must hate every false way and know you are called to be faithful Souldiers of Christ, not onely to assist in building up his Churches, but also in pulling downe the Kingdome of *Anti-Christ*, then sure you are not set up for tollerating times, nor shall any of you be content with this that you are set at liberty, but take up your Armes, and march manfully on till all opposers of Christs Kingly power be abolished: and as for you who are called to sound forth his silver Trumpets, blow lowd and shrill, to this chiefeest treble tune; For the Armies of the great *Jehovah* are at hand. See you not his Enemies stretched out on tiptoe, proudly daring on their thresholds, a certaine signe of their sudder overthrow; be not danted at your small number, for every common Souldier in Christs Campe shall be as *David*, who slew the great *Goliath*, and his *Davids* shall be as the Angels of the Lord, who slew 185000. in the *Affyrian* Army.

Finally, all you who are now sent forth by Christ your *Jehovah* to enter upon a Blessed Reformation, if ever you will have the honours to be provokers of his ancient People *Israel* (who are againe sudderly to be honoured by him in believing) kindle the fire of jealousy in their breasts by your Holy, Heavenly

ly and humble walking, have you not the most blessed opportunity put into your hands that ever people had? then

CHAP. V.

*What Civill Government the People of Christ ought to set up,
and submit unto in New England.*

FAyle not in profecution of the Worke, for your *Lord Christ* hath furnished you with able Pilots, to steere the Helme in a godly peaceable, Civill Government also, then see you make choyce of such as are found both in Profession and Confession, men fearing God and hating bribes; whose Commiſſion is not onely limited with the commands of the second Table, but they are to looke to the Rules of the first also, and let them be sure to put on *Joshuas* resolution, and courage, never to make League with any of these seven Sectaries.

First, the *Gortonists*, who deny the Humanity of Christ, and most blaphemously and proudly professe themselves to be personally Christ.

Secondly, the *Papist*, who with (almost) equall blasphemy and pride prefer their own Merits and Workes of Supererogation as equall with Christs unvaluable Death, and Sufferings.

Thirdly, the *Familist*, who depend upon rare Revelations, and forsake the sure revealed Word of Christ.

Fourthly, *Seekers*, who deny the Churches and Ordinances of Christ.

Fifthly, *Antinomians*, who deny the Morrall Law to be the Rule of Christ.

Sixtly, *Anabaptists*, who deny Civill Government to be proved of Christ.

Seventhly, The *Prelacy*, who will have their own Injunctions submitted unto in the Churches of Christ. These and the like your Civill Censors shall reach unto that the people of, and under your Government, may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſſe and honesty, and to the end that you may provoke Kings, Princes, and all that are in authority to cast downe their Crownes at the Feet of Christ, and take them up againe at his
command

command to serve under his Standard as nursing Fathers, and nursing Mothers to the Churches and people of Christ; when your feet are once safely set on the shores of *America*, you shall set up and establish civil Government, and pray for the prosperity thereof, as you love the peace of his Churches, who hath called you to this service, he hath for that end shipped among you, some learned in the Law of God, and practised in rules of good reason or common Lawes proper to our *English* Nation. Be sure you make choice of the right, that all people, Nations and Languages, who are soonly to submit to Christs Kingdome, may be followers of you herein, as you follow the Rule of Christ; your Magistrates shall not but open the Gates for all forts. But know, they are Eyes of Restraint set up for Walles and Bulworks, to surround the *Sion* of God; Oh for *Jerusalem* her peace, see that you mind it altogether, you know right well that the Churches of Christ have not thrived under the tolerating Government of *Holland*, from whence the Lord hath translated one Church already to the place whither you are now to goe; and further it is well known, loose liberty cannot indure to looke Majestically in the face. And also you shall finde erroneous persons will contend with authority for upholding truth irrationally, denying it any power to condemne deceiveable Doctrines, and that upon this very ground, because Tyranny hath enforced error heretofore; be not borne downe with a multitude, neither let any flatter for preferment, which to prevent, honour shall be very chargeable among you; yet let not any deny to beare the burden and cumber of governing this people of Christ; for assuredly, although their recompence fall short from man, it shall not be forgotten with the Lord. Lastly,

The Church of Christ at *Plimoth* was planted in *New England*, 8. Yeares before any others.

CHAP. VI.

How the People of Christ ought to behave themselves in War-like Discipline.

YOU shall with all diligence provide against the Malignant adversaries of the truth, for assure your selves the time is at hand

hand wherein *Antichrist* will muster up all his Forces, and make war with the People of God: but it shall be to his utter overthrow. See then you store your selves with all forts of weapons for war, furbish up your Swords, Rapiers, and all other piercing weapons. As for great Artillery, seeing present meanes falls short, waite on the *Lord Christ*, and hee will stir up friends to provide for you: and in the meane time spare not to lay out your coyne for Powder, Bullets, Match, Armes of all forts, and all kinde of Instruments for War: and although it may now seeme a thing incredible, you shall see in that Wildernesse, whither you are going, Troopes of stout Horsemen marshalled, and therefore fayle not to ship lusty Mares along with you, and see that withall dilligence you incourage every Souldier-like Spirit among you, for the *Lord Christ* intends to atchieve greater matters by this little handfull then the World is aware of; wherefore you shall seeke and set up men of valour to lead and direct every Souldier among you, and with all diligence to instruct them from time to time.

Doctor Wil-
son gave 1000l.
to New Eng-
land, with
which they
stored them
with great
Guns.

Feare not the misse of men to fill your Townes, and compleat your companies; for although at first struglings for truths advance there may but a small number appeare of sound judgement: yet shall you not prefer any to Office, whose zeale is not strong for the truth, for now the minde of *Christ* is to put out the Name of *Ammaleck* from under Heaven (I meane such as have persecuted the Churches and People of *Christ* in their low condition) and assuredly unfound *Saules* will spare such as should not be saved from destruction. Then be strong and of a good courage (all you that are to fight the Lords Battaile) that your Faith faile not at fight of the great Armies of *Gog* and *Magog*: and as for you, who shall be preferred to highest places in his New *England* Regiments, cause your Captaine and other inferior Officers to be diligent in their severall places, that you may lend helpe to your Countreyemen, that ere long be will see a necessity of contending for the truth, as well as your selves in choyce of Military Officers; Let faithfulnessse to the cause in hand, courage, activity and skill have the prehemency of honours; for although it may seeme a meane thing to be a New *England* Souldier, yet some of you shall have the battering and beating down,

down, scaling, winning and waisting the over-topping Towers of the Hierarchy; Lieutenants, Ensigne and Serjeants, exceed not your places, till Experience, Skill and true Valour promote you to higher honour, to which you shall be daily aspiring. As the worthy encouragement of a Souldiers labour, let Militay discipline be had in high esteeme among you. Gentlemen, Corporalls, and fellow-Souldiers, keepe your weapons in continuall readinesse, seeing you are called to fight the Battails of your *Lord Christ*; who must raigne till hee hath put all his enemies under his Feet, his glorious Victories over *Antichrist* are at hand, never yet did any Souldier rejoyce in dividing the spoyle after Victory, as all the Souldiers of *Christ* shall, to see his judgement executed upon the great Whore, and withall the Lambs bride prepared for him, who comes Skipping over & trampling down the great Mountaines of the Earth, whose universall Government will then appeare glorious, when not onely the *Affyrian, Babilonian, Persian, Grecian* and *Roman* Monarchies shall subiect themselves unto him, but also all other new upstart Kingdomes, Dukedomes, or what else can be named, shall fall before him; Not that he shall come personally to Reigne upon Earth (as some vainly imagine) but his powerfull Prefence and Glorious brightnesse of his Gospell both to *Jew* and *Gentile*, shall not onely spiritually cause the Churches of *Christ* to grow beyond number, but also the whole civill Government of people upon Earth shall become his, so that there shall not be any to move the hand, nor dog his tongue against his chosfen, *And then shall the time be of breaking Speares into Mattocks, and Swords into Sithes*; and this to remaine to his last comming, which will be personally to overcome the last enemies of his Saints, even death, which hee will doe by the word of his Mouth, audibly spoken the World throughout.

Then all you, who are now, or shall hereafter be shipped for this Voyage, minde the worke of Christ, and not some following raigne, titles of honour, others eying the best Grasse-platts and best Situation for Farmes and large Accommodations, crouding out Gods people from sitting down among you. Wherefore above all beware of covetousnesse; all you that will be admitted into these select Bands of *Christ Jesus*, remember *Achan*,

whereas Rams Hornes could overthrow the high and strong walles of *Jericho*, before his theft committed, after it the little number of the men of *Ai* could put the Host of the living God to flight, see then you stand upon your watch continually in the strength of *Christ*, for assuredly instead of casting downe the enemies of *Christ*, this sin will cast down you utterly, definable you for striking one stroke in the cause of *Christ*; and whereas he hath purposely pickt out this People for a patterne of purity and soundnesse of Doctrine, as well as Discipline, that all such may finde a refuge among you, and let not any Merchants, Inkeepers, Taverners and men of Trade in hope of gaine, fling open the gates so wide, as that by letting in all sorts you mar the worke of *Christ* intended: neither shall such labourers as hee hath pickt out to be pyoneers in this Campe of his, drinke up like Spunges such meanes as hee hath sent to maintaine both Officers, and private Souldiers. Lastly, let not such as fight, fet foote on Land to compose Townes for Habitations, take up large accommodations for sale, to enrich themselves with others goods, who are to follow them, but freely as you have received, so give out to others: for so soone as you shall seeke to ingrosse the Lords waist into your hands, he will ease you of your burden by making stay of any farther resort unto you, and then be sure you shall have waist Land enough.

To this Commiffion was added a strong motive to this work as followeth: Namely, the great enmity betweene that one truth as it is in *Jesus*, and all other unsound and undeceiveable Doctrines, together with the persons that hold them; infomuch, that they cannot stand in one Common-wealth long together, as sixteene hundred yeares experience will testifie, the which *Moses* layes down as one maine reason, why he might not admit of a toleration to worship God in *Egypt*. And therefore all you that believe the Scriptures, which so plainly prophecy the destruction of Antichrist and all Antichristian Doctrines; Pray, pray, pray, pray continually with that valiant worthy *Joshua* that the Sun may stand still in *Gibeon*, and the Moone in the vally of *Aijalon*, for assuredly although some small battailes may be fought against the enemies of *Christ*, yet the great day of their finall overthrow shall not come till the bright Sonne of that one cleare truth

truth of *Christ*, stand still in the Gentile Churches, that those who fight the Lords Battells may plainly discern his enemies in all places, where they finde them, as also such as will continue fighting must have the World kept low in their eyes, as the Moon in the valley of *Aijalon*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the goodnesse of God in helping his People to a large liberty in Spirituall things, under the hopes of gaine in Earthly things.

THIS *Proclamation* being audibly published through the Ile of Great *Brittaine* by fundry Herraulds, which *Christ* had prepared for that end: the rumour ran through Cities, Townes and Villages; when those that were opposites heard it, some cried one thing, and some another, much like the tumult in the Townhall at *Ephesus*, some said let them goe, others cryed, sweare them first, others said let no Subsidy men passe, others would have strict search made for non-conformants, and that none of the late silenced Ministers might passe into the Ships; Amidst this great hurry the sincere servants of *Christ* humbly seeke the Lords assistance in days of Humiliation, taking up some serious cogitations, how to begin this worthy worke, upon which it was thought meete a patterne should be procured, comprised after the manner of a Corporation-company or Brotherhood, with as large liberty for government of this Association, as could be got under the Broad Seale of *England*, which accordingly was done by advise of one Mr. *White* an honest Counsellor at Law, as also furthered by the honoured Mr. *Richard Belinham*, and under the name of many worthy personages, as Governour, Dep. Gov. Assistant and Freeman, &c. Granted, Ingrossed and Sealed as holding of the manner of East *Greenwitch*, yeelding by way of homage the sixth part of all such Ore of Gold or Silver, as might for after time be found within the Limits of the said Grant bounded on the North, with the most Northerly part of the pleasant River of *Merimech*, one mile beyond, and on the South with the most Southern part of that oft frequented River

commonly called *Charles*, one mile beyond, with power to rule and govern in all those parts both by Sea and Land; To elect and set up all sorts of Officers, as well Superior as Inferior; to point out their power and places, to defend and maintaine the said Land, and Inhabitants thereof with all their lawfull liberties (against all such as at any time should Invade, Molest or Disturbe the same) as well by offensive as defensive War, as also to constitute and ordaine Lawes, &c. Thus these Souldiers of *Jesus Christ* prepared to advance his Kingly Government, much like *Samuel*, when he went to annoynt *David*, took up another errant, withall that the Malignant spirit of *Saul* might not hinder the worke, so those Worthies of *Christ* joyning themselves with Merchants and others, who had an eye at a profitable Plantation, who had not herein been deceived would they have stayed their time, but surely such mist not their marke, whose ayme was at the durable interest, unlesse the fault were their owne, neither let any man thinke *Christ* will not recompence those one way or other, who have been any way helpfull to his people in this his work; amongst whom the Author will not misse that good Gentleman, *Matthew Craddock* by the way of thankfullnesse to him, Mr. *Goff* and others this Verfe is tendred:

*For richest Jems and gainfull things most Merchants wisely venter:
 Deride not then New England men, this Corporation enter;
 Christ calls for Trade shall never fade, come Craddock factors send:
 Let Mayhew go and other more, spare not thy coyne to spend;
 Such Trades advance did never chance, in all thy Trading yet:
 Though some deride thy losse, abide, her's gaine beyond mans wit.*

 CHAP. VIII.

*Of the wonderfull Preparation the Lord Christ by his Providence,
 wrought for his peoples abode in this Western world.*

NOW let all men know the admirable Acts of *Christ* for his Churches, and chosen, are universally over the whole Earth at one and the same time, but sorry man cannot so discourse of them; And therefore let us leave our *English* Nation in way
 of

of preparation for this Voyage intended, and tell of the marvelous doings of *Christ* preparing for his peoples arrivall in the Western World, whereas the *Indians* report they beheld to their great wonderment that perspicuous bright blazing Comet (which was so famously noted in *Europe*) anon after Sun set it appeared as they say in the *South-west*, about three houres continuing in their Horizon, for the space of thirty sleepes (for so they reckon their dayes) after which uncouth sight they expected some strange things to follow, and the rather, because not long before the whole Nation of the *Mattachusets* were so affrighted with a Ship that arrived in their Bay, having never seene any before, thus they report some persons among them discerning a great thing to move toward them upon the Waters, wondering what Creature it should be, they run with their light cannowes, (which are a kinde of Boates made of Birch Rindes, and sowed together with the rootes of white Cedar-Trees) from place to place, stirring up all their Countrey men to come forth, and behold this monstrous thing; at this sudder news the shores for many miles were filled with this naked Nation, gazing at this wonder, till some of the stoutest among them manned out these Cannowes, being armed with Bow and Arrowes, they approached within shot of the Ship, being becalmed they let fly their long shafts at her, which being headed with bone some stuck fast, and others dropped into the water, they wondering it did not cry, but kept quietly on toward them, till all of a sudder the Master caused a piece of Ordnance to be fired, which stroke such feare into the poore *Indians*, that they hasted to shore, having their wonders exceedingly increased; but being gotten among their great multitude, they waited to see the sequell with much amazement, till the Seamen firing up their salies came to an Anchor, manned out their long bote, and went on shore, at whose approach, the *Indians* fled, although now they saw they were men, who made signes to stay their flight, that they may have Trade with them, and to that end they brought certaine Copper-Kettles; the *Indians* by degrees made their approach nearer and nearer till they came to them, when beholding their Vessells, which they had set forth before them, the *Indian* knocking them were much delighted with the sound, and much more astonished to see they would
not

not breake, being so thin, for attaining those Vessells they brought them much Bever, fraughting them richly away according to their desires, this was the first working providence of *Christ* to stir up our *English* Nation, to plant these parts in hope of a rich Trade for Bever-skins, and this made some of our Countrymen make their abode in these parts, whom this Army of *Christ* at their comming over found as fit helps to further their designe in planting the Churches of *Christ*; Who by a more admirable act of his Providence not long after prepared for his peoples arrivall as followeth.

The Summer after the blazing Starre (whose motion in the Heavens was from *East* to *West*, poynting out to the sons of men the progresse of the glorious Gospell of *Christ*, the glorious King of his Churches) even about the yeare 1618. a little before the removeall of that Church of *Christ* from *Holland* to *Plimoth* in *New England*, as the ancient *Indians* report, there befell a great mortality among them, the greatest that ever the memory of Father to Sonne tooke notice of, chiefly desolating those places, where the *English* afterward planted the Country of *Pockanoky*, *Agiffawamg*, it was almost wholly deserted, insomuch that the Neighbour *Indians* did abandon those places for feare of death, fleeing more West & by South, observing the East and by Northern parts were most smitten with this contagion, the *Abarginny-men* consisting of *Mattachusets*, *Wippanaps* and *Tarratines* were greatly weakned, and more especially the three Kingdomes, or *Saggamore* ships of the *Mattachusets*, who were before this mortality most populous, having under them seven Dukedomes or petty *Saggamores*, and the *Nianticks* and *Narrowgansfits*, who before this came were but of little note, yet were they now not much increased by such as fled thither for feare of death, the *Pecods* (who retained the Name of a war-like people, till afterwards conquered by the *English*) were also smitten at this time. Their Disease being a fore Consumption, sweeping away whole Families, but chiefly yong Men and Children, the very seeds of increase, their *Powwowes*, which are their Doctors, working partly by Charmes, and partly by Medicine, were much amazed to see their *Wigwams* lie full of dead Corpes, and that now neither *Squantam* nor *Abbamocho* could helpe, which are the

their good and bad God and also their *Powwows* themselves were oft smitten with deaths stroke, howling and much lamentation was heard among the living, who being possessed with great feare, oftimes left their dead unburied, their manner being such, that they remove their habitations at death of any, this great mortality being an unwonted thing, feare them the more, because naturally the Country is very healthy. But by this meanes *Christ* (whose great and glorious workes the Earth throughout are altogether for the benefit of his Churches and chosen) not onely made roome for his people to plant; but also tamed the hard and cruell hearts of these barbarous *Indians*, insomuch that halfe a handfull of his people landing not long after in *Plimoth-Plantation*, found little resistance, of whom the Author purposes not to speake particularly, being prevented by the honoured Mr. *Winslow*, who was an eye-witnesse of the worke: onely thus much by the way, they were sent to keepe possession for their Brethren and fellow Souldiers, who arrived eight yeares after them, as in proesse of this story will God-willing appeare: and verily herein they quit themselves like men, or rather *Christ* for and by them, maintaining the place notwithstanding the multitude of difficulties they met withall at their first landing, being in doubtfull suspence what intertainment these Barbarians would give them, having with prayer supplicated the Lord in the Name of *Christ* their King and guide in this their undertaking, they manned out a Boate to discover what store of the Inhabitants were there. Now these men, whose courage exceeded the number, being guided by the provident hand of the most high, landed in some severall places; and by making fires gave signes of their approach, now the *Indians*, whose dwellings are most neer the water-side, appeared with their Bowes bent and Arrowes one the string, let fly their long shafts among this little company, whom they might soon have inclosed, but the Lord otherwise disposed of it, for one Captaine *Miles Standish* having his fowling-peece in a reddinesse, presented full at them, his shot being directed by the provident Hand of the most high God, strook the stoutest *Sachem* among them one the right Arme, it being bent over his shoulder to reach an Arrow forth his Quiver, as their manner is to draw them forth in fight, at this stroke they

all fled with great swiftnesse through the Woods and Thickets, then the *English*, who more thirsted after their conversion than destruction, returned to their Bote without receiving any damage, and soon after arrived where they left their Brethren, to whom they declared the good hand of God toward them, with thankfull acknowledgement of this great worke of his in preserving them; Yet did they all remaine full of incumbred thoughts, the *Indians*, of whose multitudes they had now some intelligence, together with experience of spirits, and also knew well without commerce with them they were not like long to subsist.

But hee, whose worke they went about, wrought so rare a Providence for them, which cannot but be admired of all that heare it. Thus it befell as they were discourfing in the Bote they had built for shelter, all of a sudden, an *Indian* came in among them, at whose speech they were all agast, he speaking in the *English* Language, *Much welcome Englishmen*, their wonder was the greater, because upon those Costes they supposed no *English* had so much as set foote, and verily Christ had prepared him on purpose to give his people intertainment, the *Indian* having lived in *England* two year or thereabout, after which he returned home, and at this time had wandred into those parts in company of other *Indians*, all this, and the condition of the neere adjoining *Indians*, hee soon discovered unto them, at which they were transported beyond themselves very much, what with joy and the mixture of their former feare and affection intervening with the other, surprisid all their senses of a sudden, that long it was ere each party could take its proper place, yea, and beyond all this *Christ Jesus*, by the power of his blessed Spirit, did now work upon all their faculties both of Soule and Body, the great impression of his present Providence might not soon be washed off with the following incumbred cares of a Defart Wildernesse; but to contract, they made use of the present opportunity, and by the instrumentall meanes of this *Indian*, became acquainted and reconciled with most of the Neighbouring *Indians*. And afterward planted a Church of Christ there, and set up civill Government, calling the Name of the place *Plimoth*: under this jurisdiction there are ten Churches at this very day, this being the first

first place any *English* resorted unto for the advancement of the Kingly Government of Christ in this *Westerne* World.

CHAP. IX.

Of the first preparation of the Marchant Adventurers, in the Mattachufets.

Now it will be time to returne againe to *England*, to speake further of the people that wee left in way of preparation ; who in the yeare 1628. sent forth some store of servants to provide against the wants of a Desart Wilderneffe, amongst whom came over a mixt multitude, insomuch that very little appeared of the following worke, onely the much honoured Mr. *John Indicat*, came over with them to governe, a fit instrument to begin this Wilderneffe-worke, of courage bold undanted, yet sociable, and of a chearfull spirit, loving and austere, applying himselfe to either as occasion served. And now let no man be offended at the Authors rude Verse, penned of purpose to keepe in memory the Names of such worthies as Christ made strong for himselfe, in this unwonted worke of his.

John Endicat twice Governour of the English, inhabiting the Mattachufets Bay in N. England.

*Strong valiant John wilt thou march on, and take up station first,
Christ cal'd hath thee, his Souldier be, and faile not of thy trust;
Wildernes wants Christs grace supplants, the plant his Churches pure,
With Tongues gifted, and graces led, help thou to his procure;
Undanted thou wilt not allow, Malignant men to wast: (last.
Christs Vineyard heere, whose grace should cheer, his well-beloved's
Then honoured be, thy Christ hath thee their Generall promoted:
To shew their love, in place above, his people have thee voted.
Yet must thou fall, to grave with all the Nobles of the Earth,
Thou rotting worme, to dust must turn, and worse but for new birth.*

The place picked out by this People to settle themselves in, was in the bosome of the out-stretched arme of *Cape Anne*, now called

called *Gloster*, but at the place of their abode they began to build a Town, which is called *Salem*, after some little space of time having made tryall of the Sordid spirits of the Neighbouring *Indians*, the most bold among them began to gather to divers places, which they began to take up for their owne, those that were sent over servants, having itching desires after novelties, found a reddier way to make an end of their Masters provision, then they could finde meanes to get more; They that came over their own men had but little left to feed on, and most began to repent when their strong Beere and full cups ran as small as water in a large Land, but little Corne, and the poore *Indians* so far from relieving them, that they were forced to lengthen out their owne food with Acorns, and that which added to their present distracted thoughts, the Ditch betweene *England* and their now place of abode was so wide, that they could not leap over with a lope-staffe, yet some delighting their Eye with the rarity of things present, and feeding their fancies with new discoveries at the Springs approach, they made shift to rub out the Winters cold by the Fire-side, having fuell enough growing at their very doores, turning down many a drop of the Bottell, and burning Tobacco with all the ease they could, discoursing betweene one while and another, of the great progresse they would make after the Summers-Sun had changed the Earths white furr'd Gowne into a greene Mantell. Now the vernall of thirty nine being come, they addrest themselves to coste it as far as they durst for feare of loosing themselves, or falling into the hands of unknown *Indians*, being kept in awe by a report of a cruell people, not far of called the *Tarratines*. All this while little like-lihood there was building the Temple for Gods worship, there being only two that began to hew stones in the Mountaines, the one named Mr. *Bright*, and the other Mr. *Blaxton*, and one of them began to build, but when they saw all sorts of stones would not fit in the building, as they supposed, the one betooke him to the Seas againe, and the other to till the Land, retaining no simbole of his former profession, but a Canonick Coate.

CHAP. X.

*Of the first Church of Christ, gathered at Salem in the
Mattachufets Government.*

THIS yeare 1629. came over three godly Ministers of *Christ Jesus*, intending to shew his power in his peoples lowest condition as his manner is, thereby to strengthen their Faith in following difficulties, and now although the number of the faithfull people of Christ were but few, yet their longing desires to gather into a Church was very great; And therefore addressed themselves to finde out the blessed Rules of Christ for preserving herein, who through the assistance of his Blessed Spirit, found that the Word of God, penned by the Apostles in many Epistles, written to particular Churches, consisting of such as are beloved Saints, by calling appearing so in the judgement of Charity, being tryed by the rule of the word, not scandalous in their Lives, for the society of such they sought, and in these beginnings found very few, seven being the lest number a Church can be gathered, or conceived by just consequence from the Word of God. Having fasted and prayed with humble acknowledgement of their own unworthinesse to be called of Christ to so worthy a worke, they joyned together in a holy Covenant with the Lord, and one with another promising by the Lords Assistance to walke together in Exhorting, Admonishing, and Rebuking one another, and to cleave to the Lord with a full purpose of heart, according to the blessed Rules of his Word made known unto them, and further they seeing by light of Scripture the *Lord Christ* ascended up on high to give gifts unto men, not onely extraordinary as Apostles, &c. before the Canon of the Scripture was perfected, but also ordinary as Pastors and Teachers, and that such are to be fitted with gifts according, for so mighty a worke, as is the Feeding and Ruling the Flock of Christ. Wherefore they Elec'ted and Ordained one Mr. *Higgingson* to be Tracher of this first Church of *Christ*, set up in those parts, a man indued with grace apt to teach, and mighty in the Scriptures, Learned in the Tongues, able to convince gain-sayers, aptly applying the word to his hearers, who departed this life not long after, of whom it may be said.

The

*The Reverend Mr. Higgington, first Pastor of the Church of Christ
at Salem in New England.*

What Golden gaine made Higginson remove,
From fertill Soyle to Wildernesse of Rocks;
'Twas Christs rich Pearle stir'd up thee toile to love,
For him to feed in Wildernesse his flocks.
First Teacher, he here Sheepe and Lambs together,
First crownd shall be, hee in the Heavens of all,
Christs Pastors here, but yet Christ folke had rather,
Him here retaine, blest he whom Christ hath call'd.

They also called to the Office of an Exhorting Elder Mr. *Scelton*, a man of a gracious Speech, full of Faith and furnished by the Lord with gifts from above, to begin this great worke of his, that makes the whole Earth to ring againe at this present day.

*The Reverend Mr. Scelton first Pastor of the Church of Christ,
at Salem in New England, 1630.*

Scelton for Christ did leave his Native soile,
Christ Grace first wrought for him, or he had never
A Pastor been in Wildernesse to toile,
Where Christ his Flock doth into Churches gather;
For five yeares space to end thy war-faire thou,
Must meete with wantes, what wants can be to him?
Whose Shepheard's Christ, Earths fullnesse hath for you;
And Heavens rich Crowne for thee, with's conquest win.

This Church of *Christ*, being thus begun, the Lord with the Water-spouts of his tender Mercy caused to increase and fructify. And now let every Eare listen, and every heart admire, and inlarge it selfe to the astonishment of the whole man at this wonderous worke of the great *Jehovah*; That in thrice seven yeares (after the beginning of this Worke) wrought such fearfull Defolations, and wonderfull Alterations among our *English*
Nation,

Nation, and also in this difmall Defart, wafting the naturall Inhabitant with deaths ftroke, and that as is former touched, the *Mattachufets*, who were a populous Nation, confifting of 30000 able men, now brought to leffe then 300. and in their roome and place of abode this poore Church of Chrift confifting at their beginning, but of feven perfons, increafed to forty three Churches in joynt Communion one with the other, profefling *One God, One Chrift, and one Gofpell*, and in thofe Churches about 7750. Soules in one profefion of the Rules of *Chrift*, and that which makes the worke more admirable in the Eyes of all beholders, mens habitations are cut out of the Woods and Bufhes, neither can this place be entered by our *English* Nation, but by paffing through a dreadfull and terrible Ocean of nine hundred Leagues in length.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Glorious beginnings of a thorough Reformation in the Churches of Chrift.

Further know thefe are but the beginnings of Chriffs glorious Reformation, and Reftauration of his Churches to a more glorious fplendor than ever. Hee hath therefore caufed their dazeling brightneffe of his prefence to be contracted in the burning-Glaffe of thefe his peoples zeale, from whence it begins to be left upon many parts of the World with fuch hot reflection of that burning light, which hath fired many places already, the which fhall never be quenched till it hath burnt up *Babilon* Root and Branch, and now let the Reader looke one the 102. *Pfalme*, the Prophet *Ifaia* 66. *Chapter*, take this sharpe Sword of Chriffs Word, and all other Scriptures of like nature, and follow on yee valiant of the Lord; And behold the worthies of *Chrift*, as they are boldly leading forth his Troopes into thefe *Wefterne* Fields, marke them well Man by Man as they march, terrible as an Army with Banners, croud in all yee that long to fee this glorious fight, fee ther's their glorious King *Chrift* one that white Horfe, whose hooves like flint caft not only fparkes, but flames of fire in his pathes. Behold his Crown be-
fet

fet with Carbunkles, wherein the names of his whole Army are written. Can there be ever night in his Prefence, whose eyes are ten thousand times higher than the Sun? Behold his swiftnes all you that have said, where is the promise of his comming? Listen a while, hear what his herauld proclaimes, *Babylon* is fallen, is fallen, both her Doctrines & Lordly rabble of Popes, Cardinalls, Lordly-Bishops, Friers, Monks, Nuns, Seminary-Priests, Jesuits, Ermites, Pilgrims, Deans, Prebends, Arch-Deacons, Commissaries, Officialls, Proctors, Somners, Singing-men, Choristers, Organist, Bellows-blowers, Vergers, Porters, Sextons, Beads-men, and Bel-ringers and all others who never had name in the Word of God; together with all her false Doctrines, although they may seeme otherwise never so contradictory as *Arians*, who deny the God-head of Christ, and *Gortenists* who deny the Humanity of Christ: Papists, who thinke to merit Heaven by the Workes of the Law, *Antinomians*, who deny the Law of God altogether as a rule to walke by in the obedience of Faith, and deny good works to be the Frutit of Faith, *Arminians*, who attribute Gods Election, or Reprobation to the will of Man, and *Familists*, who forsake the revealed Will of God, and make men depend upon strong Revelations, for the knowledge of Gods Electing Love towards them, *Conformitants* or *Formalists*, who bring in a forme of worship of their owne, and joyne it with the worship God hath appointed in his Word, *Seekers*, that deny all manner of worship or Ordinances of *Christ Jesus*, affirming them to be quite lost, and not to be attained till new Apostles come.

 CHAP. XII.

Of the voluntary banishment, chosen by this People of Christ, and their last farewell taken of their Country and Friends.

AND now behold the severall Regiments of these Souldiers of *Christ*, as they are shipped for his service in the *Western* World, part thereof being come to the Towne and Port of *Southampton* in *England*, where they were to be shipped, that they

they might profecute this defigne to the full, one Ship called the *Eagle*, they wholly purchase, and many more they hire, filling them with the feede of man and beaft to fow this yet untilled Wilderneffe withall, making fale of fuch Land as they poffeffe, to the great admiration of their Friends and Acquaintance, who thus expoftulate with them, What, will not the large income of your yearly revenue content you, which in all reafon cannot chufe but be more advantageous both to you and yours, then all that Rocky Wilderneffe, whither you are going, to run the hazard of your life? Have you not here your Tables filled with great variety of Foode, your Coffers filled with Coyne, your Houfes beautifully built and filled with all rich Furniture? (or otherwife) have you not fuch a gainfull Trade as none the like in the Towne where you live? Are you not enriched daily? Are not your Children very well provided for as they come to years? (nay) may you not here as pithily practife the two chiefe Duties of a Christian (if Chrift give ftrength) namely Mortification and Sanctification as in any place of the World? What helps can you have there that you muft not carry from hence? With bold refolvedneffe thefe ftout Souldiers of Chrift reply; as Death, the King of terror with all his dreadfull attendance inhumane and barbarous, tortures doubled and trebled by all the infernal furies have appeared but light and momentany to the Souldiers of *Chrift Iefus*, fo alfo the Pleafure, Profits and Honours of this World fet forth in their moft glorious fplendor, and magnitude by the alluring Lady of Delight, proffering pleafant embraces, cannot intice with her *Syren* Songs, fuch Souldiers of Chrift, whose aymes are elevated by him, many Millions above that brave Warriar *Vlyffes*.

Now feeing all can be faid will but barely fet forth the immoveable Refolutions that Chrift continued in thefe men; Paffe on and attend with teares, if thou haft any, the following difcourfe, while thefe Men, Women and Children are taking their laft farwell of their Native Country, Kindred, Friends and Acquaintance, while the Ships attend them; Many make choife of fome folitary place to eccho out their bowell-breaking affections in bidding their Friends farwell, deare friends (fayes one) as neare as my owne foule doth thy love lodge in my brest, with

thought of the heart-burning Ravishments, that thy Heavenly speeches have wrought: my melting soule is poured out at present with these words, both of them had their farther speach strangled from the depth of their inward dolor, with breast-breaking sobs, till leaning their heads each on others shoulders, they let fall the salt-dropping dewes of vehement affection, striving to exceede one another, much like the departure of *David* and *Jonathan*: having a little eased their hearts with the still streames of Teares, they recovered speech againe. Ah! my much honoured friend, hath Christ given thee so great a charge as to be Leader of his People into that far remote, and vast Wildernesse, I, oh, and alas thou must die there and never shall I see thy Face in the flesh againe, wert thou called to so great a taske as to passe the pretious Ocean, and hazard thy person in Battell against thousands of Malignant Enemies there? there were hopes of thy return with triumph, but now after two three, or foure moneths spent with daily expectation of swallowing Waves, and cruell Pirates, you are to be Landed among barbarous *Indians*, famous for nothing but cruelty, where you are like to spend your days in a famishing condition for a long space; Scarce had he uttered this, but presently hee lockes his friend fast in his armes, holding each other thus for some space of time, they weepe againe, But as *Paul* to his beloved flock: the other replies what doe you weeping and breaking my heart? I am now prest for the service of our *Lord Christ*, to re-build the most glorious Edifice of Mount *Sion* in a Wildernesse, and as *John Baptist*, I must cry prepare yee the way of the Lord, make his paths strait, for behold hee is comming againe, hee is comming to destroy *Antichrist*, and give the whore double to drinke the very dregs of his wrath.

Then my deare friend unfold thy hands, for thou and I have much worke to doe, I and all Christian Souldiers the World throughout, then hand in hand they leade each other to the Sandy-banks of the brinish Ocean, when clenching their hands fast, they unloose not til inforced to wipe their watery-eyes, whose constant streames forced a watery-path upon their Cheekes, which to hide from the eyes of others they shun society for a time, but being called by occasion, whose bauld back-part none
can

can lay hold one; They thrust in among the throng now ready to take Ship, where they beheld the like affections with their own among divers Relations, Husbands and Wives with mutuall consent are now purposed to part for a time 900 Leagues afunder, since some providence at present will not suffer them to goe together, they resolve their tender affections shall not hinder this worke of Christ, the new Married and betrothed man, exempt by the Law of God from war, now will not claime their priviledge, but being constrained by the Love of Christ, lock up their naturall affections for a time, till the Lord shall be pleased to give them a meeting in this *Westerne* World, sweetly mixing it with spirituall love, in the meane time many Fathers now take their yong *Samuells*, and give them to this service of Christ all their Lives. Brethren, Sisters, Unkles, Nephewes, Nieces, together with all Kindred of blood that binds the bowells of affection in a true Lovers knot, can now take their last farewell, each of other, although naturall affection will still claime her right, and manifest her selfe to bee in the body by looking out at the Windowes in a mournfull manner among this company, thus disposed doth many Reverend and godly Pastors of Christ present themselves, some in a Seamans Habit, and their scattered sheepe comming as a poore Convoy loftily take their leave of them as followeth, what dolefull dayes are these, when the best choise our Orthodox Ministers can make is to take up a perpetuall banishment from their native soile, together with their Wives and Children, wee their poore sheepe they may not feede, but by stoledred should they abide here. *Lord Christ*, here they are at thy command, they go, this is the doore thou hast opened upon our earnest request, and we hope it shall never be shut: for *Englands* sake they are going from *England* to pray without ceasing for *England*, O *England*! thou shalt finde *New England* prayers prevailing with their God for thee, but now woe alas, what great hardship must these our indared Pastors indure for a long season, with these words they lift up their voyces and wept, adding many drops of salt liquor to the ebbing Ocean; Then shaking hands they bid adue with much cordiall affection to all their Brethren, and Sisters in Christ, yet now the Score and Derision of those times,

and for this their great enterprife counted as fo many crackt-braines, but Christ will make all the earth know the wifdome he hath indued them with, fhall over-top all the humane policy in the World, as the fequell wee hope will fhew; Thus much fhall fuffice in generall to fpeak of their peoples farewell they tooke from time to time of their Country and Friends.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the charges expended by this poore People, to enjoy Christ in his purity of his Ordinances.

AND now they enter the Ships, fhould they have caft up what it would have coft to people *New England* before hand, the moft ftrongeft of Faith among them would certainly have ftaggered much, and very hardly have fet faile. But behold and wonder at the admirable Aëts of Christ, here it is caft up to thy hand, the paffage of the perfons that peopled *New England* coft ninety five thousand pounds, the Swine, Goates, Sheepe, Neate and Horfe, coft to transport twelve thousand pound befides the price they coft, getting food for all perfons for the time till they could bring the Woods to tillage amounted unto forty five thousand pounds; Nayles, Glaffe and other Ironworke for their meeting-houfes, and other dwelling houfes, before they could raife any meanes in the Country to purchafe them, Eighteene thousand pounds. Armes, Powder, Bullet and Match, together with their great Artillery, twenty two thousand pounds: the whole fum amounts unto one hundred ninety two thousand pound, befide that which the Adventurers laid out in *England*, which was a fmall pittance compared with this, and indeed moft of thofe that caft into this Banke were the chiefe Adventurers. Neither let any man thinke the fum above exprefed did defray the whole charge of this Army, which amounts to above as much more, onely this fum lies ftill in banke, and the other they have had the income againe; This therefore is chiefly prefented to fatisfie fuch as thinke *New England men* have beene bad husbands in mannaging their Eftates, affuredly
here

here it lies in banke, put out to the greatest advantage that ever any hath beene for many hundred of yeares before, and verily although in casting it up some hundreds may be miscounted (for the Author would not willingly exceede in any respect) but to be sure Christ stands by and beholds every mite that (in the obedience of Faith) is cast into this Treasury: but what doe wee answering men? the money is all Christs, and certainly hee will take it well that (his,) have so disposed of it to his advantage; by this meanes hee hath had a great income in *England* of late, Prayers, Teares and Praise, and some Reformation; *Scotland* and *Ireland* have met with much of the profit of this Banke, *Virginia*, *Bermudas* and *Barbados* have had a taste, and *France* may suddenly meete with the like. Therefore repent you not, you that have cast in your Coyne, but tremble all you that with a penurious hand have not onely cast, in such as are taking out to hord it up in your Napkins, remember *Ananias* and *Saphirah*, how darest thou doe it in these dayes, when the Lord hath need of it? Gentle Reader make use of this memorable Providence of Christ for his *New England* Churches, where had this poore people this great sum of money? the mighty Princes of the Earth never opened their Coffers for them, and the generality of these men were meane and poore in the things of this life, but sure it is the work is done, let God have the glory, who hath now given them food to the full, and some to spare for other Churches.

 CHAP. XIV.

Of the wonderfull preservation of Christ, in carrying his People Men, Women, Children, through the largest Ocean in the World.

AND now you have had a short survey of the charges of their *New England* Voyages, see their progresse being safe aboard weighing Anker, and hoisting saile they betooke them to the protection of the Lord on the wide Ocean, no sooner were they dispersed by reason of the wideness of the Sea, but the *Arrabella* (for so they called the Eagle, which the company

ny purchased in honour of the Lady *Arrabella*, Wife to that godly Esquire, *Izack Johnson*) espied foure Ships, as they supposed, in pursuit of them, their suspection being the more augmented by reason of a report (when they lay in harbor) of foure Dunkerck-men of war, who were said to lie waiting for their comming forth, at this sight they make preparation, according to their present condition, comforting one another in the sweete mercies of Christ: the weaker sex betooke them to the Ships hold, but the men one Decks waite in a readinesse for the enemies approach. At whose courage many of the Seamen wonder, not knowing under whose command these their passengers were, even he who makes all his Souldiers bold as Lions. Yet was he not minded to make triall of his peoples valiantcy in fight at this time, for the ships comming up with them proved to be their own Countrymen and friends, at which they greatly rejoiced, seeing the good hand of their God was upon them, and are further strengthened in Faith to rely one Christ, for the future time against all Leakes, Stormes, Rockes, Sands, and all other wants a long Sea-voyage procures, sustaining them with all meeknesse and patience, yet sensible of the Lords frownes, humbling their foules before him, and also rejoicing in his deliverances in taking the cup of Salvation, and paying the tribute of thankfulnesse to the most high, whose provident hand was diversly directed toward them, purposely to point out the great hardships they must undergoe in this their Christian warfare, and withall to tell them, although their difficulties were many and mournfull, yet their victories should be much more glorious and joyfull, eminently eyed of the whole World, but now keeping their course so neere as the winds will suffer them, the billowes begin to grow lofty and rageing, and suddenly bringing them into the vale of death, covering them with the formidable floods, and dashing their bodies from side to side, hurling their unfixed goods from place to place at these unwonted workes. Many of these people amazed finde such opposition in nature, that her principles grow feeble, and cannot digest her food, loathing all manner of meat, so that the vitall parts are hindered from cooperating with the Soule in spirituall duties, infomuch that both Men, Women and Children are in a helpelesse condition
for

for present, and now is the time if ever of recounting this service they have, and are about to undertake for Christ; but he, who is very sensible of his peoples infirmities, rebukes the winds, and Seas for their sakes, and then the reverend and godly among them begin to exhort them in the name of the Lord, and from the Lord, being fitted with such words as much encourages the worke they are going about, many of their horses and other Cattell are cast over-board by the way, to the great disheartning of some, but Christ knew well how far his peoples hearts would be taken off the maine worke with these things. And therefore although he be very tender in providing outward necessaries for his, yet rather than this great worke (he intends) should be hindered, their Tables shall be spread but thinly in this Wildernesse for a time. After the Lord had exercised them thus severall ways, he sent Diseases to visit their Ships, that the desert Land they were now drawing near unto might not be deserted by them at first entrance, which sure it would have been by many, had not the Lord prevented by a troublesom passage: At forty dayes end, or thereabout, they cast to sound the Seas depth, and find them sixty fadom, by which they deem the bankes of New found Land are near, where they being provided with Cod-line and Hooke hale up some store of fish to their no small refreshing, and within some space of time after they approach the Coast of *New England*, where they are againe provided with Mackarell, and that which was their greater rejoycing, they discover Land, at sight thereof they blessed the Lord.

But before the Author proceed any further in this Discourse, take here a short survey of all the Voyages by Sea, in the transportation of these Armies of the great *Jehova*, for fifteene years space to the year 1643. about which time *England* began to endeavour after Reformation, and the Souldiers of Christ were set at liberty to bide his battells at home, for whose assistance some of the chiefe worthies of Christ returned back: the number of Ships that transported passengers in this space of time, as is supposed is 298. Men, Women and Children passing over this wide Ocean, as near as at present can be gathered, is also supposed to be 21200. or thereabout.

CHAP. XV.

*An Exhortation to all People, Nations and Languages, to
indeavour the advancing of the Kingdome of Christ in
the purity of his Ordinances, seeing he hath done
such admirable Aëts for these
poore shrubs.*

AND now all you whose affections are taken with wonderfull matters (Attend) and you that thinke Christ hath forgotten his poore despised people (Behold) and all you that hopefully long for Christs appearing to confound *Antichrist* (Consider) and rejoyce all yee his Churches the World throughout, for the Lambe is preparing his Bride, and oh! yee the antient Beloved of Christ, whom he of old led by the hand from *Egypt* to *Canaan*, through that great and terrible Wilderneffe, looke here, behold him whom you have peirced, preparing to peirce your hearts with his *Wonder-working Providence*, and to provoke you by this little handfull of his people to looke on him, and mourne. Yet let no man think these few weake Wormes would restraine the wnderfull Workes of Christ, as onely to themselves, but the quite contrary, these but the Porch of his glorious building in hand, and if hee have shewed such admirable aëts of his providence toward these, what will he doe when the whole Nation of *English* shall set upon like Reformation according to the direct Rule of his Word? Assured confidence there is also for all Nations, from the undoubted promise of Christ himselfe.

The Winter is past, the Raine is changed and gone, come out of the holes of the secret places, feare not because your number is but small, gather into Churches, and let Christ be your King, yee *Presbytery*, Lord it not over them or any Churches, but feed every one, that one flock over which Christ hath made you overseers, and yee people of Christ give your *Presbytery* double honours, that they with you may keepe the watch of the Lord over his Churches. Yee *Dutch* come out of your hods-podge, the great mingle mangle of Religion among you hath caused the Churches of Christ to increafe so little with you, standing at a
stay

stay like Corne among Weeds, Oh, yee *French!* feare not the great swarmes of *Locusts*, nor the croking *Frogs* in your Land, Christ is reaching out the hand to you, look what hee hath done for these *English*, and fure hee is no Respecter of Persons, &c. yee *Germanes* that have had such a bloody bickering, Christ is now comming to your aide, then cast off your loose, and carelesse kinde of Reformation, gather into Churches, and keepe them pure, that Christ may delight to dwell among you: oh *Italy!* The Seat and Center of the Beast, Christ will now pick out a People from among you for himselfe, see here what wonders hee workes in little time. Oh! yee *Spaniards* and *Portugalls*, Christ will shew you the abominations of that beastly Whore, who hath made your Nations drunke with the Wine of her Fornication. Dread not that cruell murtherous Inquisition, for Christ is now making Inquisition for them, and behold, here how hee hath rewarded them, who dealt cruelly with these his people.

Finally, oh all yee Nations of the World, behold great is the worke of the glorious King of Heaven and Earth hath in hand; beware of neglecting the call of Christ: and you the Seed of *Israel* both lesse and more, the ratling of your dead bones together is at hand, Sinewes, Flesh and Life: at the Word of Christ it comes Counsellors and Judges, you shall have as at the beginning to fight for you, as *Gidion, Bareck, Jephtha, Samson &c.* then fure your deliverance shall be sudden and wonderfull, if Christ have done such great things for these low Shrubs, what will his most Admirable, Excellent and wonderfull Worke, for you be, but as the Resurrection from the dead, when all the miraculous acts of his wonderfull power shewed upon *Pharoah?* for your fore-Fathers deliverance shall be swallowed up with those far greater workes that Christ shall shew for your deliverance upon the whole World, by Fiers and Bloud destroying both *Pope* and *Turke*, when you shall see great smoake and flames ascending up on high, of that great *Whore*, *Revel. 14 & 11. verse*, and the 17. & 16. *verse*, and the 18. the 8. and 18. *verse*. Then oh! you *People of Israel* gather together as one Man, and grow together as one Tree. *Ezek. 37. & 23.* For Christ the great King of all the Earth is now going forth in his great Wrath and terrible In-

dignation to avenge the blood of his Saints, *Ezek* 38 & 19. *verf.* and now for the great and bloody Battell of *Gog* and *Magog*, Rivers of blood, and up to the Horfe-bridles, even the blood of those have drunke blood so long, oh! dreadfull day, when the patience and long-suffering of Christ, that hath lasted so many hundreds of yeares shall end, what wonderous workes are now suddenly to be wrought for the accomplishment of these things! Then judge all you (whom the *Lord Christ* hath given a discerning spirit) whether these poore *New England* People, be not the forerunners of Christs Army, and the marvelous providences which you shall now heare, be not the very Finger of God, and whether the Lord hath not sent this people to Preach in this Wildernesse, and to proclaime to all Nations, the neere approach of the most wonderfull workes that ever the Sonnes of men saw. Will not you believe that a Nation can be borne in a day? here is a worke come very neare it; but if you will believe you shall see far greater things than these, and that in very little time, and in the meane time looke on the following Discourse.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the admirable Acts of Christs Providence, in delivering this his people in their Voyages by Sea, from many foule dangers.

YOU have heard of about 198. Ships passing the perillous Ocean, of all which I heare of but one that ever miscarried; yet shall you here see some of the great dangers they were in the Ship, this Author came in a foggy morning, anon by breake of day was ready to be steamed by a Pirate, but being unready for fight they passed by; others by a fog, have been delivered from farther chase of them, so that of this great number never did any Pirate make one shot at them, according to best intelligence. Their deliverance from leakes also hath been no lesse wonderfull, some so neare sinking, that the loving affection betweene Husband and Wife, hath caused them to fould each other in their Armes, with Resolution to die together, and make the Sea
their

their Grave, yet not ceasing to call on the Lord, their present helpe in time of need, who is minded to manifest his great care for this his people to all that shall come to hear thereof. And therefore directs to meanes for freeing their ships, being now ready to founder in the depthlesse Ocean. And further, as if these deliverances were too little to expresse the tender care *Christ* hath of his, to free them from all dangers, those that occupy their businesse in the deepe, and see the Wonders of God upon the waters, are taken with great astonishment to behold the extraordinary hand of the most High, in transportation of this people, in that their ships all of a sudden are brought so neer the ground, and yet strike not their Pilots, missing oftentimes of their skill on those unwandered Coasts, but their *Jehovah* hee misses not to be an exact Pilot in the most thickest fogge and darkest nights, for thus it befell.

The night newly breaking off her darknesse, and the day-light being clouded with a grosse vapor, as if nights Curtaines remained halfe shut, the Sea-men and Passengers standing on the Decks, suddenly fixed their eyes one a great Boat (as they deemed) and anon after they spied another, and after that another; but musing on the matter, they perceived themselves to be in great danger of many great Rocks, with much terror and affrightment, they turned the Ship about, expecting every moment to be dashed in pieces against the Rocks. But he whose providence brought them in, Piloted them out againe, without any danger, to their great Rejoycing. And assuredly (so extraordinarily eminent and admirable to the eyes of many beholders, was the wonderfull workes in magnifying the Rich grace toward this his people in prefering them) that many Masters of Ships left their Sea-employment for a time, and chose rather to suffer the wants of a Wildernesse with the people of God, than to increase their estates in a full-fed Land, and verily so taken they were, that they fell down at *Christs* Feet, and were placed by him as living stones, Elect and Pretious in his Churches; also many other Seamen were brought to seeke after *Christ* in his Ordinances, by which it appeares some great worke, by some far surpassing all this, hath *Christ* ere long to doe, that hee thus fitteth Instruments. Then all you that occupy shipping prepare for his

service, who will assuredly prove the best owner that ever you went to Sea for.

Furthermore, the condition of those persons passed the Seas, in this long and restless Voyage (if rightly considered) will more magnifie the grace of *Christ* in this great Worke. First, such were many of them that never before had made any path through the Waters, no not by boat, neither so much as feene a Ship, others so tenderly brought up that they had little hope of their Lives continuance under such hardships, as so long a Voyage must needs inforce them to indure, others there were, whose age did rather call for a quiet Couch to rest them on, than a pinching Cabbin in a Reeling Ship, others whose weake natures were so borne downe with Disease, that they could hardly craule up the Ships-side, yet ventured their weake Vessells to this *Westerne* World. Here also might you see weakly Women, whose hearts have trembled to set foote in Boate, but now imboldened to venter through these tempestuous Seas with their young Babes, whom they nurture up with their Breasts, while their bodies are tossed on the tumbling Waves; also others whose Wombes could not containe their fruit, being ready for the Worlds-light, travailed and brought forth upon this depthlesse Ocean in this long Voyage, lively and strong Children yet living, and like to prove succeeding Instruments in the Hands of *Christ*, for furthering this worke; among other *Sea-borne Cotten*, now a young student in a Colledge in *Cambridge*, being Son to that Famous and Renowned Teacher of *Christ*, M. *John Cotten*; by all this and much more that might be said, for almost every one you discourse withall will tell you of some Remarkeable Providence of God shewed toward them in this their Voyage, by which you may see the Worke of *Christ*, is not to bee laid aside because of difficulties.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the first leading of these People of Christ, when the Civill Government was Established.

BUt to goe on with the Story, the 12 of *July* or thereabout 1630. these Souldiers of *Christ* first fet foote one this *Westerne* end of the World; where arriveing in safety, both Men, Women and Children. On the North side of *Charles River*, they landed neare a small Island, called *Noddells Island*, where one Mr. *Samuel Maverack* then living, a man of a very loving and curteous behaviour, very ready to entertaine strangers, yet an enemy to the Reformation in hand, being strong for the Lordly Prelaticall power one this Island, he had built a small Fort with the helpe of one Mr. *David Tompson*, placing therein foure Murtherers to protect him from the *Indians*. About one mile distant upon the River ran a small creeke, taking its Name from Major Gen. *Edward Gibbons*, who dwelt there for some yeares after; One the South side of the River one a point of Land called *Blaxtons point*, planted Mr. *William Blaxton*, of whom we have former spoken: to the South-East of him, neare an Island called *Tompsons Island* lived some few Planters more, these persons were the first Planters of those parts, having some small Trading with the *Indians* for *Beaver-Skins*, which moved them to make their aboade in those parts, whom these first Troopes of *Christs Army*, found as fit helpes to further their worke. At their arrivall those small number of Christians gathered at *Salem*, greatly rejoycing and the more, because they saw so many that came chiefly for promoting the great Work of *Christ* in hand, the Lady *Arrabella* and some other godly Women aboard at *Salem*, but their Husbands continued at *Charles Town*, both for the settling the civill Government, and gathering another Church of *Christ*. The first Court was holden aboard the *Arrabella* the 23. of *August*. When the much honoured *John Wintrop* Esq. was chosen Governour for the remainder of that yeare, 1630. Also the worthy *Thomus Dudly* Esq. was chosen Deputy Governour, and Mr. *Simon Brodestreet* Secretary, the people after their long Voyage were many of them troubled

with the *Scurvy*, and some of them died: the first station they tooke up was at *Charles Towne*, where they pitched some Tents of Cloath, other built them small Huts, in which they lodged their Wives and Children. The first beginning of this worke seemed very dolorous; First for the death of that worthy personage *Izaac Johnson Esq.* whom the Lord had indued with many pretious gifts, infomuch that he was had in high esteeme among all the people of God, and as a chiefe Pillar to support this new erected building. He very much rejoyced at his death, that the Lord had been pleased to keepe his eyes open so long, as to see one Church of *Christ* gathered before his death, at whose departure there was not onely many weeping eyes, but some fainting hearts, fearing the fall of the present worke. For future Remembrance of him mind this *Meeter*.

Izaac Johnson Esquire, beloved of *Christ* and his people, and one of the Magistrates of *New England*.

W*Hat mov'd thee on the Seas upon such toyle with Lady-taking;*
Christ's drawing love all strength's above, when way for his hee's making.

Christ will have thee example be, honoured with's graces, yeilding
His Churches aid, foundation laid, now new one Christ a building.
Thy Faith, Hope, Love, Joy, Meeknesse prove improved for thy Lord,
As he to thee, to people be, in Government accord.

Oh! people why, doth Christ deny this worthies life to lengthen?
Christ onely trust, Johnsons turnd dust, and yet hee's crownd and
(strengthend.

The griefe of this people was further increased by the fore sicknesse which befell among them, so that almost in every Family Lamentation, Mourning, and woe was heard, and no fresh food to be had to cherish them, it would assuredly have moved the most lockt up affections to Teares no doubt, had they past from one Hut to another, and beheld the piteous case these people were in, and that which added to their present distresse was the want of fresh water, for although the place did afford plenty,

plenty, yet for present they could finde but one Spring, and that not to be come at, but when the tide was downe, which caused many to passe over to the South-side of the River, where they afterward erected some other Townes, yet most admirable it was to see with what Christian courage many of these Souldiers of *Christ* carried it amidst all these calamities, and in *October*, the Governour Deputy and Assistants, held their second Court on the South-side of the River; Where they then began to build, holding correspondency with *Charles Towne*, as one and the same.

At this Court many of the first Planters came, and were made free, yet afterward none were admitted to this fellowship, or freedome, but such as were first joyned in fellowship with some one of the Churches of *Christ*, their chiefest aime being bent to promote his worke altogether. The number of Freemen this yeare was 110. or thereabout.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the second Church of Christ, gathered at Charles Towne in the Mattacufets Bay, 1631.

AND now the new-come Souldiers of *Christ* strengthen themselves in him, and gather a Church at *Charles Towne*, whose extent at present did reach to both sides of the River, and in very little time after was divided into two Churches, the Reverend and judicious Mr. *John Wilson* was called to be Pastor thereof, a Man full of Faith, Courage and Zeale, for the truth of *Christ* persecuted, and hunted after by the usurping Prelates (and forced for present to part from his indeared Wife) yet honoured by *Christ*, and made a powerfull instrument in his hands for the cutting downe of Error, and Schisme, as in the sequell of this History will appeare, in whose weakenesse *Christ*s power hath appeared.

The

The Grave and Reverend Mr. *John Wilson*, now Pastor
of the Church of Christ at *Soston*, in
New England.

JOhN VWilson will, to Christs will submit,
In Wildernesse, where thou hast Trialls found,
Christ in new making did compose thee fit,
And made thy Love zeale, for his truth abound.
Then it's not Wilson, but Christ by him hath,
Error cut down when it o'retopping stood,
Thou then 'Gainst it didst shew an holy wrath;
Saving mens soules from this o're-flowing floud.
They thee deprave, thy Ministrey dispise,
By thy thick utterance seeke to call Men back,
From hearing thee, but Christ for thee did rise.
And turnd the wheel-right over them to crack.
Yea, caused thee with length of dayes to stand,
Steadfast in's house in old Age fruit to bring.
I and thy seed raise up by his command;
His Flock to feed, rejoyce my Muse and sing.
That Christ doth, dost regard so plentiously,
Rich gifts to give, and heart to give him his,
Estate and person thou spends liberally;
Christ thee, and thine will Crown with lasting Blisse.

This, as the other Churches of *Christ*, began with a small number in a desolate and barren Wildernesse, which the Lord in his wonderfull mercy hath turned to fruitfull Fields. Wherefore behold the present condition of these Churches compared with their beginnings; as they sowed in teares, so also have they Reaped in joy, and shall still so go on if plenty and liberty marre not their prosperity. This Towne of *Charles* is situated one the North-side of *Charles River*, from whence it tooke its Name, the River being about five or six fathom deepe; Over against the Town many small Islands lieing to the Seaward of it, and Hills one either side. By which meanes it proves a very good harbor for Ships, which hath caused many Sea-men and Merchants to
fit

fit downe there, the forme of this Towne in the frontice piece thereof, is like the Head, Neck and Shoulders of a Man, onely the pleafant, and Navigable River of *Miftick* runs through the right fhoulder thereof, and by its neare approach to *Charles* River in one place makes a very narrow neck, by which meanes the chiefe part of the Towne, whereon the moft building ftands, becomes a Peninfula: it hath a large Market-place neer the water fide built round with Houfes, comly and faire, forth of which there iffues two ftreetes orderly built with fome very faire Houfes, beautified with pleafant Gardens and Orchards, the whole Towne confifts in its extent of about 150. dwelling Houfes. Their meeting houfe for Sabbath affembly ftands in the Market-place, very comly built and large, the Officers of this Church are at this day one Paftor, and one Teacher, one Ruling Elder, and three Deacons, the number of Soules are about 160. wonderfull it is to fee that in fo fhort a time fuch great alterati- ons *Chrift* fhould worke for thefe poore people of his: their Corne Land in Tillage in this Towne is about 1200. Acres, their great Cattell are about 400. head, Sheepe neare upon 400. as for their horfe you fhall hear of them, Godwilling, when we come to fpeak of their Military Difcipline.

CHAP. XIX.

*Of the Third Church of Chrift gathered at
Dorchester, 1631.*

THE third Church of *Chrift* gathered under this Government was at *Dorchester*, a frontire Town fcituated very pleafantly both for facing the Sea, and alfo its large extent into the main Land, well watered with two fmall Rivers; neere about this Towne inhabited fome few ancient Traders, who were not of this felect band, but came for other ends, as *Morton* of *Merry-mount*, who would faine have refifted this worke, but the provident hand of *Chrift* prevented. The forme of this Towne is almoft like a Serpent turning her head to the North-ward; over againft *Tompfons* Ifland, and the Cattle, her body and wings being chiefly built on, are filled fomewhat thick of Houfes, onely

that one of her Wings is clipt, her Tayle being of such a large extent that shee can hardly draw it after her; Her Houses for dwelling are about one hundred and forty, Orchards and Gardens full of Fruit-trees, plenty of Corne-Land, although much of it hath been long in tillage, yet hath it ordinarily good crops, the number or Trees are neare upon 1500. Cowes, and other Cattell of that kinde about 450. Thus hath the Lord been pleased to increase his poore disperfed people, whose number in this Flock are neare about 150. their first Pastor called to feede them was the Reverend, and godly Mr. *Maveruck*.

Mr. *Wareham* and other of their Teaching Elders, you shall reade of when the *Canectoco* is planted.

MAveruck thou must put period to thy dayes,
*In Wildernesse thy kindred thee provoke
 To come, but Christ doth thee for high ends Raise ;
 Amongst his worthies to strike many a stroke.
 Thy godly Life, and Doctrin speake, though thou
 In dust art laid, yet Christ by thee did feede
 His scattered Lambes, they gathered are by you ;
 Christ calls thee home, but flock he leaves to feede.*

 CAHP. XX.

Of the Fourth Church of Christ gathered at Boston, 1631.

After some little space of time the Church of *Christ* at *Charles Town*, having their Sabbath assemblies ofteneft on the South side of the River, agreed to leave the people on that side to themselves, and to provide another Pastor for *Charles Towne*, which accordingly they did. So that the fourth Church of *Christ* issued out of *Charles Towne*, and was seated at *Boston*, being the Center Towne and Metropolis of this Wildernesse worke (but you must not imagine it to be a Metropolitan Church) invironed it is with the *Brinish* flouds, saving one small Istmos, which gives free accessse to the Neighbour Townes; by Land on the South side, on the North west, and North East, two constant Faires are kept for daily traffique thereunto, the forme of this Towne is like a heart, naturally scituated for Fortifications, having two Hills on the frontice part thereof next
 the

the Sea, the one well fortified on the superficies thereof, with store of great Artillery well mounted, the other hath a very strong battery built of whole Timber, and filled with Earth, at the descent of the Hill in the extreme poynt thereof, betwixt these two strong armes lies a large Cave or Bay, on which the chiefest part of this Town is built, over-topped with a third Hill, all three like over-topping Towers keepe a constant watch to fore-see the approach of forrein dangers, being furnished with a Beacon and lowd babling Guns, to give notice by their redoubled eccho to all their Sister-townes, the chiefe Edifice of this City-like Towne is crowded on the Sea-bankes, and wharfed out with great industry and cost, the buildings beautifull and large, some fairely set forth with Brick, Tile, Stone and Slate, and orderly placed with comly streets, whose continuall inlargement presages some sumptuous City. The wonder of this moderne Age, that a few yeares should bring forth such great matters by so meane a handfull, and they so far from being enriched by the spoiles of other Nations, that the states of many of them have beene spoiled by the Lordly Prelacy, whose Lands must assuredly make Restitutions. But now behold the admirable Acts of *Christ*, at this his peoples landing, the hideous Thickets in this place were such, that Wolfes and Beares nurst up their young from the eyes of all beholders, in those very places where the streets are full of Girles and Boys sporting up and downe, with a continued concourse of people. Good store of Shipping is here yearly built, and some very faire ones: both Tar and Mastes the Countrey affords from its own foile; also store of Victuall both for their owne and Forreiners-ships, who resort hither for that end: this Town is the very Mart of the Land, *French, Portugalls* and *Dutch*, come hither for Trafique.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Fift Church of Christ, gathered at Roxbury, 1631.

THe fift Church of *Christ* was gathered at *Roxbury* scituated between *Boston* and *Dorchester*, being well watered with coole and pleasant Springs issuing forth the Rocky-hills, and with

small Freshets, watering the Vallies of this fertill Towne, whose forme is fomewhat like a wedge double pointed, entring betweene the two foure-named Townes, filled with a very laborious people, whose labours the Lord hath so blest, that in the roome of dismall Swampes and tearing Bushes, they have very goodly Fruit-trees, fruitfull Fields and Gardens, their Heard of Cowes, Oxen and other young Cattell of that kind about 350. and dwelling-houfes neere upon 120. Their strectes are large, and some fayre Houfes, yet have they built their House for Church-assembly, destitute and unbeautified with other buildings. The Church of *Christ* here is increased to about 120. persons, their first Teaching *Elder* called to Office is Mr. *Eliot* a yong man, at his comming thither of a cheerfull spirit, walking unblameable, of a godly conversation, apt to teach, as by his indefatigable paines both with his own flock, and the poore *Indians* doth appeare, whose Language he learned purposely to helpe them to the knowledge of God in *Christ*, frequently Preaching in their *Wigwams*, and Catechizing their Children.

Mr. *Eliot* Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Roxbury*, in
New England, much honoured for his labours
in the Lord.

Great is thy worke in Wildernesse, Oh man,
Young *Eliot* neere twenty yeares thou hast,
In *Westerne* world with miccle toile thy span
Spent well-neere out, and now thy gray hayrs gracest,
Are by thy Land-Lord *Christ*, who makes use of thee
To feede his flock, and heathen people teach
In their own Language, God and *Christ* to see;
A Saviour their blind hearts could not reach,
Poore naked Children come to learne Gods Mind
Before thy face with reverend regard;
Blesse God for thee may these poore heathen blind,
That from thy mouth *Christ*s Gospell sweete have heard.
Eliot thy Name is, through the wild woods spread,
In *Indians* mouths frequent's thy fame, for why?

In

*In sundry shapes the Devills made them dread;
 And now the Lord makes them their Wigwams fly,
 Rejoyce in this, nay rather joy that thou,
 Amongst Christs Souldiers hast thy name sure set,
 Although small gaine on Earth accrew to you,
 Yet Christ to Crowne will thee to Heaven soone fet.*

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Sixth Church of Christ, gathered at Linn. 1631.

THE Sixth Church of *Christ* was gathered at *Linn*, betweene *Salem* and *Charles Towne*, her scituation is neere to a River, whose strong freshet at breaking up of Winter filleth all her Bankes, and with a furious *Torrent* ventes it selfe into the Sea; This Towne is furnished with Mineralls of divers kinds, especially Iron and Lead, the forme of it is almost square, onely it takes two large a run into the Land-ward (as most Townes do) it is filled with about one hundred Houses for dwelling; Here is also an Iron Mill in constant use, but as for Lead they have tried but little yet. Their meeting-house being on a levell Land undefended from the cold North west-wind; And therefore made with steps descending into the Earth, their streetes are fraite and comly, yet but thin of Houses, the people mostly inclining to Husbandry, have built many Farmes Remote there, Cattell exceedingly multiplied, Goates which were in great esteeme at their first comming, are now almost quite banished, and now Horse, Kine and Sheep are most in request with them, the first feeder of this flock of *Christ* was Mr. *Stephen Batchelor*, gray and aged, of whom as followeth:

THrough Ocean large *Christ* brought thee for to feede,
 His wandering flock with's word thou hast oft taught,
 Then teach thy selfe with others thou hast need;
 Thy flowing fame unto low ebbe is brought.
 Faith and Obedience *Christ* full near hath joynd,
 Then trust on *Christ*, and thou againe mayst be
 Brought on thy race though now far cast behinde,
 Run to the end, and crowned thou shalt be.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Of the seventh Church of Christ gathered at
Water-Towne, 1631.*

THe Seaventh Church of *Christ* gathered out of this wandering Race of *Jacobites* was at *Water-Towne*, scituate upon one of the Branches of *Charles River*, a fruitfull plat, and of large extent, watered with many pleasant Springs, and small Rivulets, running like veines throughout her Body, which hath caused her inhabitants to scatter in such manner, that their Sabbath-Assemblies prove very thin if the season favour not, and hath made this great Towne (consisting of 160. Families) to shew nothing delightfull to the eye in any place; this Towne began by occasion of Sir *Richard Saltingstall*, who at his arrivall, having some store of Cattell and servants, they wintered in those parts: this Towne aboundes in severall sorts of Fish at their seasons, Basse, Shad, Alewives, Frost-fish, and Smelts: their herd of Kine, and Cattell of that kinde are about 450. with some store of Sheepe and Goates, their Land in tillage is neere upon 1800. Acres, this Church is increased to neer about 250. soules in Church-fellowship, their first Pastor was Mr. *Phillips*, a man mighty in the Scriptures, and very dilligent to search out the minde of *Christ* therein contained, of whom as followeth:

THe pennury of Wildernesse shall not
Daunt Phillips, and diswade his undertaking
This Voyage long: for Christ hath made him hot
With zeal for's truth, thy native soile forsaken
To follow Christ his bannisht flock to feede,
With restlesse toile thus honour'd Christ hath thee,
Then it maintaine though thou thy people neede;
Christ would thou shouldst of them aye honoured be,
Till death thou hast been souldier in this War,
Darke types the shaddowes of good things now come,
By thee have been unfoulded very far;
Cler'd baptimes light from error broch'd by some.

As

*As by thy worke in Print appeares this day,
 Though thou thy days hast ended on this Earth,
 Yet still thou livest in Name and Fame alway;
 Christ thee poore dust doth crowne with lasting Mirth.*

CHAP. XXIV.

*Of the great cheerefulnesse of their Souldiers of Christ, in and
 under the penuries of a Wildernesse.*

THEse were the beginnings of these resolute Souldiers of *Christ Jesus* in the yeare, 1631. Even to lay the Foundation of their severall Churches of *Christ*, built onely on him as their chiefe Corner Stone. But as his chosen *Israel* met with many difficulties after their returne from Captivity, in building the Temple and City, which they valiantly waded through; So these weake wormes (Oh *Christ* to thy praise be it spoken) were most wonderfully holpen in such distresses, as to appearance of man seemed to be both hopelesse, and helpelesse, threatening destruction to the whole building, and far from accomplishing such great things as you have in part seene already, and shall in the following discourse (God willing) see more abundantly, adding a strong testimony to the work, that as it was begun by *Christ*, so hath it beene carried on by him, and shall to the admiration of the whole World be perfected in his time, and unlesse men will be wilfully blinde, they must needs see and confesse the same, and that the influence thereof hath already run from one end of the Earth unto the other.

This yeare 1631. *John Winthrop* Esq. was chosen Governour, pickt out for the worke, by the provident hand of the most high, and inabled with gifts accordingly, then all the folke of *Christ*, who have seene his face and beene partaker of the same, remember him in this following Meeter.

John

John Winthrop Esq. Eleven times Governour of the
Englisk Nation, inhabiting the Mattacusets
Bay in New England.

W*Hy leavest thou John, thy station, in Suffolk, thy own soile,
Christ will have thee a pillar be, for's people thou must toyle,
He chang'd thy heart, thē take his part, 'gainst prelates proud invading
(His Kingly throne) set up alone, in wildernesse their shading.
His little flocks from Prelates knocks, twice ten years rul'd thou hast,
With civill sword at Christs word, and eleven times been trast.
By Name and Note, with peoples vote, their Governour to be,
Thy means hast spent, 'twas therefore lent, to raise this work by thee.
Well arm'd and strong with sword among, Christ armies marcheth he,
Doth valiant praise, and weak one raise, with kind benignity.
To lead the Van, 'gainst Babylon, doth worthy Winthrop call,
Thy Progeny, shall Battell try, when Prelacy shall fall.
With fluent Tongue thy Pen doth run, in learned Latine phrase,
To Sweads, French, Dutch, thy Neighbours, which thy lady rhetoricke
Thy bounty feeds, Christs servants needs, in wilderness of wants (praise.
To Indians thou Christs Gospell now, 'mongst heathen people plants.
Yet thou poore dust, now dead and must, to rotnennesse be brought,
Till Christ restore thee glorious, more then can of dust be thought.*

The much honoured *Thomas Dudley* Esquire was chofen Deputy Governour, and the number of Free-men added was about 83. Those honoured persons who were now in place of Government, having the propagation of the Churches of *Christ*, in their eye laboured by all meanes to make roome for Inhabitants, knowing well that where the dead carkass is, thither will the Eagles resort. But herein they were much opposed by certaine persons, whose greedy desire for land much hindered the worke for a time, as indeed all such persons do at this very day, and let such take notice how these were cured of this distemper, some were taken away by death, and then to be sure they had Land enough, others fearing poverty, and famishment, supposing the present scarcity would never be turned into plenty, removed themselves away, and so never beheld the great good the Lord hath done,

done for his people, but the valiant of the Lord waited with patience, and in the misse of beere supplied themselves with water, even the most honoured as well as others, contentedly rejoycing in a Cup of cold water, blessing the Lord that had given them the taste of that living water, and that they had not the water that slackes the thirst of their naturall bodies, given them by measure, but might drinke to the full; as also in the absence of Bread they feasted themselves with fish, the Women once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to the Muffells, and Clambankes, which are a Fish as big as Horse-muffells, where they daily gathered their Families food with much heavenly discourse of the provisions *Christ* had formerly made for many thousands of his followers in the wilderneffe. Quoth one, my Husband hath travailed as far as *Plimoth* (which is neere 40 miles,) and hath with great toile brought a little Corne home with him, and before that is spent the Lord will assuredly provide: quoth the other, our last peck of Meale is now in the Oven at home a baking, and many of our godly Neighbours have quite spent all, and wee owe one Loafe of that little wee have; Then spake a third, my husband hath ventured himselfe among the *Indians* for Corne, and can get none, as also our honoured Governour hath distributed his so far, that a day or two more will put an end to his store, and all the rest, and yet methinks our Children are as cheerefull, fat, and lusty with feeding upon those Muffells, Clambanks and other Fish as they were in *England*, with their fill of Bread, which makes mee cheerfull in the Lords providing for us, being further confirmed by the exhortation of our Pastor to trust the Lord with providing for us; whose is the Earth and the fulnesse thereof. And as they were encouraging one another in *Christ*s carefull providing for them, they lift up their eyes and saw two Ships comming in, and presently this newes came to their Eares, that they were come from *Jacland* full of Victualls, now their poore hearts were not so much refreshed in regard of the food they saw they were like to have, as their soules rejoyced in that *Christ* would now manifest himselfe to be the Commissary Generall of this his Army, and that hee should honour them so far as to be poore Sutlers for his Camp, they soone up with their Muffells, and hie them home to stay their hungry stomacks.

After this manner did *Christ* many times graciously provide for this his people, even at the last cast.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Lords gracious protection of his people, from the barbarous cruelties of the Heathen.

ABout this time the *Indians* that were most conversant among them, came quaking and complaining of a barbarous and cruell people called the *Tarratines*, who they said would eat such Men as they caught alive, tying them to a Tree, and gnawing their flesh by peece-meales off their Bones, as also that they were a strong and numerous people, and now comming, which made them flee to the *Englische*, who were but very few in number at this time, and could make but little resistance, being much dispersed, yet did they keepe a constant watch, neglecting no meanes *Christ* had put into their hands for their owne safety, in so much that they were exceedingly weakned with continued labour, watching and hard diet, but the Lord graciously upheld them in all, for thus it befell neere the Towne of *Linn*, then called *Saugust*, in the very dead of the night (being upon their watch, because of the report that went of the *Indians* approach to those parts) one Lieutenant *Walker*, a man indued with faith, and of a courageous spirit, comming to relieve the Centinell being come up with him, all of a sudden they heard the Sticks crack hard by them, & withall he felt something brush hard upon his shoulder, which was an *Indian* arrow shot through his Coat, and the wing of his buffe-Jacket. Upon this hee discharged his Culliver directly toward the place, where they heard the noise, which being deeply loden brake in pieces, then they returned to the Court of Guard, and raised such small forces as they had; comming to the light they perceived he had an other Arrow shot through his Coat betwixt his Legs. Seeing this great preservation they stood upon their Guard till Morning, expecting the *Indians* to come upon them every moment, but when daylight appeared, they soone sent word to other parts, who gathered together, and tooke counsell how to quit themselves of these

these *Indians*, whose approach they demed would be sudden, they agreed to discharge their great Guns, the redoubling echo rattling in the Rocks caused the *Indians* to betake themselves to flight (being a terrible unwonted sound unto them) or rather he who put such trembling feare in the *Affyrians* Army, struck the like in these cruell *Canniballs*. In the *Autumne* following, the *Indians*, who had all this time held good correspondency with the *English*, began to quarrell with them about their bounds of Land, notwithstanding they purchased all they had of them, but the Lord put an end to this quarrell also, by smiting the *Indians* with a sore Disease, even the small Pox; of the which great numbers of them died, yet these servants of *Christ* minding their Masters business, were much moved in affection toward them to see them depart this life without the knowledge of God in *Christ*. And therefore were very frequent among them for all the noysomenesse of their Disease, entering their *Wigwams*, and exhorting them in the Name of the Lord. Among others one of the chiefe *Saggamores* of the *Mattachusetts*, whom the *English* named *Saggamore John*, gave some good hopes, being alwayes very courteous to them, whom the godly, and much honour'd among the *English*, visiting a little before his death, they instructing him in the knowledge of God. Quoth hee by and by mee *Mattamoy* may be my two Sons live, you take them to teach much to know God.

Accordingly the honoured Mr. *John Winthrop*, and the Reverend Mr. *John Wilson* tooke them home, notwithstanding the infectiousnesse of the Disease their Father died of. The mortality among them was very great, and increased among them daily more and more, infomuch that the poore Creatures being very timorous of death, would faine have fled from it, but could not tell how, unlesse they could have gone from themselves; Relations were little regarded among them at this time, so that many, who were smitten with the Disease died helpless, unlesse they were neare, and known to the *English*: their *Powwows*, *Wizards*, and *Charmers*, *Athamochas* Factors were posselt with greatest feare of any. The Winters piercing cold stayed not the strength of this hot Disease, yet the *English* endeavouring to visit their sick *Wigwams*, helpe them all they could, but as

they entred one of their matted Houfes, they beheld a moſt ſad ſpectacle, death having ſmitten them all ſave one poore Infant, which lay on the ground ſucking the Breaft of its dead Mother, ſeeking to draw living nourishment from her dead breaft. Their dead they left oft-times unburied, wherefore the *English* were forced to dig holes, and drag their ſtinking corps into them. Thus did the Lord allay their quarrelſome ſpirits, and made roome for the following part of his Army. This yeare came over more ſupplies to forward the worke of Chriſt.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the gracious proviſions the Lord made for his people.

THe yeare 1632. *John Winthrope* Eſquire, was choſen Governour againe, and the antient *Thomas Dudley* Eſquire, was Deputy Governour, a man of a ſound judgement in matters of Religion and well read, beſtowing much labour that way, of whom as followeth:

The honoured, aged, ſtable and ſincere ſervant of Chriſt, zealous for his truth Thomas Dudley, Eſq. foure times Governour of the English Nation, in the Mattacufets, and firſt Major Generall of the Millitary Forces.

*What Thomas now believe doſt thou that riches men may gaine,
 In this poore Plot Chriſt doth allot his people to ſuſtaine;
 Rich Truth thou'lt buy and ſell not, why no richer Fem can be,
 Truths Champion in champion, Chriſt's grace hath placed thee,
 With civill Sword, at Chriſt's Word, early cut off wilt thou, (low.
 Thoſe Wolviſh ſheep, amongſt flocks do creep, and damned doctrine
 To trembling age, thou valiant ſage, one foot wilt not give ground,
 Chriſt's Enemies from thy face flies, his truth thou ſaveſt ſound.
 Thy lengthened dayes, to Chriſt's praiſe, continued are by him:
 To ſet by thee, his people free, from foes that raging bin.
 Wearied with yeares, it plaine appeares, Dudley not long can laſt,
 It matters not, Chriſt Crown thee got, its now at hand, hold faſt.*

This

This yeare was the first choise of Magistrates by free-men, whose number was now increased, fifty three or thereabout, to declare the manner of their Government is by the Author deferred till the year. 1637. where the Reader may behold Government both in Churches and Common-wealth, to be an institution of the Lord, and much availeable through his blessing for the accomplishment of his promises to his people.

This year these fore-runners of the following Army of Christ, after the sight of many of the admirable Acts of his providence for them, begun to take up steddy resolution through the helpe of him to wade through the Ocean, they were farther like to meete withall, and therefore began to plant the yet untilld Earth, having as yet no other meanes to teare up the bushy lands, but their hands and howes, their bodies being in very ill temper by reason of the Scurvy (a Disease in those dayes very frequent) to undergoe such extremity, but being prick'd on with hungers sharpe gode, they keepe doing according to their weake abilities, and yet produce but little food for a long season, but being perswaded that Christ will rather raine bread from Heaven, then his people should want, being fully perswaded, they were set on the worke at his command. Wherefore they followed on with all hands, and the Lord (who hath the Cattell of thousand Hills, and the Corne of ten thousand Vallies, the whole Earth, and fulnesse of it) did now raise up fresh supplies to be added to these both of men and provision of food, men no lesse valiant in Faith then them, the former amongst whom was the Reverend Mr. *Welds* and Mr. *James*, who was welcomed by the people of Christ at *Charles Towne*, and by them called to the Office of a Pastor, where hee continued for some yeares, and from thence removed to *New haven*, upon some seed of prejudice sowne by the enemies of this worke. But good Reader doe thou behold, and remember him farther in the following Lines;

T*Hy Native soile, Oh James did thee approve,
Gods people there in Lincolneshire commend;
Thy courteous speech and worke of Christian love,
Till Christ through Seas did thee on Message send.*

*With learned skill his mind for to unfold,
 His people in New England thou must feed,
 But one sad breach did cut that band should hold ;
 Then part wilt thou least farther jars should breed.
 Yet part thou wilt not with Christs Truth, thy crowne
 But my Muse waile that any souldier should,
 In fighting slip, why James thou fallest not downe,
 Back thou retreats their valiant fighting, hold
 Fast on thy Christ, who thine may raise with thee,
 His bands increase, when leaders he provides,
 Thy Son young student may such blessing be ;
 Thy losse repayre, and Christ thee crown besides.*

Although the great straites this Wildernesse people were in for want of food, was heard of among the godly people in *England*, yet would they not decline the worke, but men of Estates sold their possessions, and bought plenty of foode for the Voyage, which some of them sent before hand, by which meanes they were provided for, as also the Lord put it into the hearts of such as were Masters, and Undertakers of Ships to store their Vessells so well that they had to spare for this peoples need, and further Christ caused abundance of very good Fish to come to their Nets and Hookees, and as for such as were unprovided with these meanes, they caught them with their hands, and so with Fish, wild Onions and other Herbs were sweetly satisfied till other provisions came in, here must labouring men a little be minded, how ill they recompenced those persons, whose estates helpe them to food before they could reape any from the Earth, that forgetting those courtesies they soon by excessive prizes took for their worke, made many File-leaders fall back to the next Ranke, advancing themselves in the meane time. About this time the Church of Christ at *Roxbury*, being a diligent people, early prevented their Brethren in other Churches by calling the Reverend Mr. *Welds* to be their Pastor, of whom you may see somewhat farther in the following lines :

To

TO worke oh Welds! in wilder nesse betime
 Christ thee commands, that thou his folke should's follow:
 And feede his flock in Covenant band combine,
 With them through him his glorious name to hallow;
 Seven yeares thou stoutly didst wade through with toile,
 These desart cares, back by advice againe,
 Thou didst returne unto thy native soile,
 There to advance Christs Kingdome now remaine.
 In Pulpit, and with Pen thou hast the truth
 Maintained, and clear'd from scandalous reproach
 Christs churches here, and shew'd their lasting Ruth,
 That dare 'gainst Christ their own inventions broach;
 Then sage, in age, continue such to be,
 Till Christ thee crowne, his gifts to thee are free.

This yeare of sad distresses was ended with a terrible cold Winter, with weekly Snowes, and fierce Frosts betweene while congealing *Charles River*, as well from the Towne to Sea-ward, as above, infomuch that men might frequently passe from one Island to another upon the Ice. Here Reader thou must be minded of an other admirable Act of Christ for this yeare, in changing the very nature of the seasons, moderating the Winters cold of late very much, which some impute to the cutting downe the woods, and breaking up the Land; But Christ have the praise of all his glorious Acts. About this time did the valiant in faith, and Reverend Pastor Mr. *John Wilson* returne to *England*, and surely the power of Christ hath notably appeared in this weake forry man. You must needs see the Author will flatter no man, yet will he not be wanting to tell the noble Acts of Christ Jesus, in making men strong for himselfe, here is one borne up in the armes of his mercy, often through the perillous Seas night and dayes, yea: weeks and months upon the great deepe, and now having with his owne eyes beheld the manifold troubles these poore were in, yet at this very time hies him back to his Native soile, where his indear'd Wife did yet remaine, purposefully to perswade her to cast her cares upon the Lord, as he himself had already done, and then assuredly the wants of a Wilder nesse would

would never hurt her: at the departure of this holy Man of God, many of his peoples hearts waxed very sad, and having looked long for his returne; Their eyes now began to faile in missing of their expectation, they according to their common course in time of great straites, set and appointed a day wholly to be spent in seeking the pleasing Face of God in Christ, purposing the Lord assisting to afflict their soules, and give him the honour of his All-seeingness, by a downe right acknowledgement of their finnes, but the Lord, whose Grace is alwayes undeserved, heard them before they cried, and the afternoone before the day appointed brought him, whom they so much desired, in safety to shore, with divers other faithfull servants of Christ ready armed for the Battell, the day was turned to a day of rejoycing, and blessing the Lord, even the mighty God of *Iacob*, the God of Armies is for us a refuge high *Shela*.

The yeare 1633. the honoured *John Winthrope* Esquire, was chosen Governour againe, and *Thomas Dudly* Esq. Deputy Governour, the number of Freemen added, or Souldiers listed was 46. the Winters Frost being extracted forth the Earth, they fall to tearing up the Roots, and Bushes with their Howes; even such men as scarce ever set hand to labour before, men of good birth and breeding, but comming through the strength of Christ to war their warfare, readily rush through all difficulties, cutting down of the Woods, they inclose Corne fields, the Lord having mitigated their labours by the *Indians* frequent fiering of the woods, (that they may not be hindered in hunting Venison, and Beares in the Winter season) which makes them thin of Timber in many places, like our Parkes in *England*, the chiefest Corne they planted before they had Plowes was *Indian* Graine, whose increase is very much beyond all other, to the great refreshing of the poore servants of Christ, in their low beginnings, all kinde of Gardens Fruits grew very well, and let no man make a jest at Pumpkins, for with this fruit the Lord was pleased to feed his people to their good content, till Corne and Cattell were increased.

And here the Lords mercy appeared much in that those, who had beene formerly brought up tender, could now contentedly feed on bare and meane Diet, amongst whom the Honoured
and

and upright hearted in this worke of Christ, Mr. *Increase Nowell*, shall not be forgotten, having a diligent hand therein from the first beginning.

I*ncrease shalt thou, with honour now, in this thy undertaking,
Thou hast remain'd, as yet unstaind, all errors foule forsaking;
To poore and rich, thy Justice much hath manifested bin:
Like Samuel, Nathanaell, Christ hath thee fram'd within;
Thy faithfulnessse, people expresse, and Secretary they
Chose thee each year, by which appeare, their love with thee doth stay.
Now Nowell see Christ call'd hath thee, and work thou must for him,
In beating down the triple Crown, and all that his foes ben.
Thus doest thou stand by Christ fraile man, to tell his might can make
Dust do his will, with graces fill, till dust to him he take.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the gracious goodnesse of God, in hearing his peoples prayers in times of need, and of the Ship-loades of goods the Lord sent them in.

Here againe the admirable Providence of the Lord is to be noted, That whereas the Country is naturally subject to drought, even to the withering of their summers Fruits, the Lord was pleased, during these yeares of scarcity, to blesse that small quantity of Land they planted with seasonable showers, and that many times to the great admiration of the Heathen, for thus it befell: the extreame parching heate of the Sun (by reason of a more constant clearnesse of the Aire then usually is in *England*) began to scorch the Herbs and Fruits, which was the chiefeft meanes of their livelyhood, they beholding the Hand of the Lord stretched out against them, like tender hearted Children, they fell down on their knees, begging mercy of the Lord, for their Saviours sake, urging this as a chiefe argument, that the malignant adverbary would rejoyce in their destruction, and blaspheme the pure Ordinances of CHRIST, trampling down his Kingly Commands with their owne inventions, and in uttering these words, their eyes dropped down many teares,

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their

their affections prevailing so strong, that they could not refrain in the Church-Assembly. Here admire and be strong in the Grace of Christ, all you that hopefully belong unto him, for as they powred out water before the Lord, so at that very instant, the Lord showed down water on their Gardens and Fields, which with great industry they had planted, and now had not the Lord caused it to raine speedily, their hope of food had beene lost: but at this these poore wormes were so exceedingly taken, that the Lord should shew himselfe so neere unto their Prayers, that as the drops from Heaven fell thicker, and faster, so the teares from their eyes by reason of the sudden mixture of joy and sorrow, and verily they were exceedingly stirred in their affections, being unable to resolve themselves, which mercy was greatest, to have a humble begging heart given them of God, or to have their request so suddenly answered.

The *Indians* hearing hereof, and seeing the sweet raine that fell, were much taken with Englishmens God, but the Lord seeing his poore peoples hearts were too narrow to beg, his bounties exceeds toward them at this time, as indeed hee ever hitherto hath done for this Wildernesse-People, not onely giving the full of their requests, but beyond all their thoughts, as witnesseth his great worke in *England* of late, in which the prayers of Gods people in *New England* have had a great stroke; These people now rising from their knees to receive the rich mercies of Christ, in the refreshed fruits of the Earth; Behold the Sea also bringing in whole Ship-loades of mercies, more being filled with fresh forces, for furthering this wonderfull worke of Christ, and indeed this yeare came in many pretious ones, whom Christ in his grace hath made much use of in these his Churches, and Commonwealth, insomuch that these people were even almost over-balanced with the great income of their present possessed mercies, yet they address themselves to the Sea shore, where they courteously welcom the famous servant of Christ, grave godly and judicious *Hooker*, and the honoured servant of Christ, *M John Haynes*, as also the Reverend and much desired *Mr. John Cotton*, and the Reticall, *Mr. Stone*, with divers others of the sincere servants of Christ, comming with their young, and with their old, and with their whole substance, to doe him service in
this

this Defart wildernesse. Thus this poore people having now tasted liberally of the salvation of the Lord every way, they deeme it high time to take up the Cup of thankfulness, and pay their vowes to the most high God, by whom they were holpen to this purpose of heart, and accordingly fet apart the 16. day of *October* (which they call the eighth Moneth, not out of any peevish humor of singularity, as some are ready to cenfor them with, but of purpose to prevent the Heathenish and Popish observation of Dayes, Moneths and Yeares, that they may be forgotten among the people of the Lord) this day was solemnly kept by all the seven Churches, rejoycing in the Lord, and rendering thanks for all their benefits.

Here must not be omitted the indereared affections Mr. *John Wilson* had to the worke in hand, exceedingly setting forth (in his Sermon this day) the Grace of Christ in providing such meet helps for furthering thereof, really esteeming them beyond so many Ship-loading of Gold; manifesting the great humility Christ had wrought in him (not complementing, but in very deede preferring the Reverend Mr. *John Cotton*, many hundreds before himselfe, whom they within a very little time after called to the Office of a Teaching Elder of the Church of Christ at *Boston*, where hee now remaines, of whom as followeth:

W*hen Christ intends his glorious Kingdome shall
Exalted be on Earth, he Earth doth take,
Even sinfull Man to make his worthies all;
Then praise I Man, no Christ this Man doth make,
Sage, sober, grave, and learned Cotten thou:
Mighty in Scripture, without Booke repeat it,
Annatomise the sence, and shew Man how
Great mysteries in sentence short are seated.
Gods Word with's word comparing oft unfould:
The secret truths Johns Revelations hath
By thee been open'd, as nere was of old;
Shewes cleere, and neere 'gainst Romes whore is Gods wrath.
Then Churches of Christ, rejoyce and sing,
John Cotten hath Gods minde, I dare believe,*

*Since he from Gods Word doth his witnesse bring ;
 Saints cries are heard they shall no longer grieve.
 That song of songs, 'twixt Christ and's Church thou hast
 Twice taught to all, and sweetly shewed the way,
 Christ would his Churches should, in truth stand fast ;
 And cast off mans inventions even for aye.
 Thy labours great have met with catching cheats,
 Mixing their Brasse with thy bright Gold for why ?
 Thy great esteeme must cover their ill feates,
 Some soile thou gett'st, by comming them so nie.
 But i'ts wipt off, and thou Christs Champion left ,
 The Faith to fight for Christ hath arm'd thee well,
 His worthies would not, thou shoulds be bereft,
 Of honours here thy Crown shall soon excell.*

These people of God having received these farther helps, to instruct, and build them up in the holy things of Christ, being now greatly encouraged, seeing the Lord was pleased to set such a broad Seale to their Commission for the worke in hand, not onely by his Word and Spirit moving thereunto, but also by his Providence in adding such able instruments for furthering this great worke of Reformation, and advancing the Kingdome of Christ, for which they spent this day of rejoycing, and sure the Lord would have all that hear of it know, their joy lay not in the increase of Corne, or Wine, or Oyle, for of all these they had but very little at this time, yet did they not spare to lend such as they had unto the poore, who could not provide, and verily the joy ended not with the day, for these active instruments of Christ, Preaching with all instancy the glad Tidings of the Gospell of *Iesus Christ*, rejoyced the Heart of this People much.

 CHAP. XX VIII.

Of the Eighth Church of Christ, gathered at Cambridge, 1633.

AT this time those who were in place of civill Government, having some addition Pillars to under-prop the building, began

begun to thinke of a place of more safety in the eyes of Man, then the two frontire Towns of *Charles Towne*, and *Boston* were for the habitation of such as the Lord had prepared to Govern this Pilgrim People. Wherefore they rather made choice to enter farther among the *Indians*, then hazard the fury of malignant adversaries, who in a rage might pursue them, and therefore chose a place situate on *Charles River*, betweene *Charles Towne*, and *Water-Towne*, where they erected a Towne called *New Towne*, now named *Cambridge*, being in forme like a list cut off from the Broad-cloath of the two fore-named Towns, where this wandering Race of *Jacobits* gathered the eighth Church of Christ. This Town is compact closely within it selfe, till of late yeares some few stragling houses have been built, the Liberties of this Town have been enlarged of late in length, reaching from the most Northerly part of *Charles River*, to the most Southerly part of *Merrimeck River*, it hath well ordered streets and comly pompleated with the faire building of *Harver Colledge*, their first Pastor was the faithfull and laborious Mr. *Hooker*, whose Bookes are of great request among the faithfull people of Christ; Yee shall not misse of a few lines in remembrance of him.

Come, Hooker, come forth of thy native soile:
Christ, I will run, sayes Hooker, thou hast set
My feet at large, here spend thy last dayes toile;
Thy Rhetorick shall peoples affections whet.
Thy Golden Tongue, and Pen Christ caus'd to be
The blazing of his golden truths profound,
Thou sorry worme its Christ wrought this in thee;
What Christ hath wrought must needs be very sound.
Then looke one Hookers workes, they follow him
To Grave, this worthy resteth there a while:
Die shall he not that hath Christs warriour bin;
Much lesse Christs Truth, cleer'd by his peoples toile.
Thou Angell bright, by Christ for light now made,
Throughout the World as seasoning salt to be,
Although in dust thy body mouldering fade;
Thy Head's in Heaven, and hath a crown for thee.

The people of this Church and Towne have hitherto had the chiefeſt ſhare in ſpirituall bleſſings, the Miniſtry of the Word, by more then ordinary inſtruments as in due time and place (God willing) you ſhall farther heare, yet are they at this day in a thriving condition in outward things, alſo both Corne and Cattell, Neate and Sheepe, of which they have a good flocke, which the Lord hath cauſed to thrive much in theſe latter dayes then formerly.

This Towne was appointed to be the ſeate of Government, but it continued not long, this yeare a ſmall gleane of Rye was brought to the Court as the firſt fruits of Engliſh graine, at which this poore people greatly rejoyced to ſee the Land would beare it, but now the Lords bleſſing that way hath exceeded all peoples expectation, cloathing the Earth with plenty of all kinde of graine. Here minde I muſt the Reader of the admirable acts of Chriffs Providence toward this people, that although they were in ſuch great ſtraites for foode, that many of them eate their Bread by waight, and had little hopes of the Earths fruitfullneſſe, yet the Lord Chriſt was pleaſed to reſreſh their ſpirits with ſuch quickning grace, and lively affections to this Templeworke, that they did not deſert the place; and that which was more remarkable, when they had ſcarce houſes to ſhelter themſelves, and no doores to hinder the *Indians* acceſſe to all they had in them, yet did the Lord ſo awe their hearts, that although they frequented the *Engliſhmens* places of aboade, where their whole ſubſtance, weake Wives and little ones lay open to their plunder; during their abſence being whole dayes at Sabbath-Aſſemblies, yet had they none of their food or ſtuffe diminished, neither Children nor Wives hurt in the leaſt meaſure, although the *Indians* came commonly to them at thoſe times, much hungry belly (as they uſe to ſay) and were then in number and ſtrength beyond the *Engliſh* by far.

Yet further ſee the great and noble Acts of Chriſt toward this his wandering people, feeling againe the ſcarcity of foode, and being conſtrained to come to a ſmall pittance daily, the Lord to provide for them, cauſeth the Deputy of *Ireland* to ſet forth a great Ship unknowne to this people, and indeed ſmall reaſon in his own apprehenſions why he ſhould ſo do (but Chriſt will
have

have it so.) This Ship ariving, being filled with food, the godly Governours did so order it that each Town sent two men aboard of her, who tooke up their Townes allowance, it being appointed before hand, what their portion should be, to this end that some might not by all, and others be left destitute of food. In the vernall of the yeare 1634. This people being increased, and having among them many pretious esteemed instruments for furthering this wonderous worke of Christ, they began to thinke of fortifying a small Island about two miles distant from *Boston* to Sea-ward, to which all the Vessells come in usually and passe. To this end the honoured Mr. *John Winthrope* with some 8. or 10. persons of note, tooke boate and arrived on the said Island in a warme Sun shineday, just at the breaking up of Winter as they deemed, but being they were sudden surpris'd with a cold North-west storme (which is the sharpest winde in this Country) freezing very vehemently for a day and a night, that they could not get off the Island, but were forced to lodge there, and lie in a heape one upon another (on the ground) to keepe themselves from freezing.

This yeare 1634. the much honoured *Thomas Dudley* Esquire, was chosen Governour, and Mr. *Roger Ludlow* Deputy Governour, the Freemen added to this little Common-wealth this year were about two hundred and foure, about this time a sincere servant of *Christ* Mr. *Stone* was added to the Church of *Christ* at New-towne, as a meet helpe to instruct the People of Christ there, with the above named Mr. *Hooker*, and as he hath hether-to bin (through the blessing of God) an able instrument in his hands to further the worke. So let him be encouraged with the Word of the Lord in the spirit of his might to go on.

1634.

*Thou well smoth'd Stone Christs work-manship to be:
 In's Church new laid his weake ones to support,
 With's word of might his foes are foild by thee;
 Thou daily dost to godlinesse exhort.
 The Lordly Prelates people do deny
 Christs Kingly power Hofanna to proclaime,
 Mens mouths are stopt, but Stone poore dust doth try,
 Throughout his Churches none but Christ must raigne.*

Mourne

*Mourne not Oh Man, thy youth and learning's spent :
 In desart Land, my Muse is bold to say,
 For glorious workes Christ his hath hither sent ;
 Like that great worke of Resurrection day.*

CHAP. XX IX.

*Of the Lords remarkable providence toward his indeared servants
 M. Norton and Mr. Shepherd.*

Now my loving Reader, let mee lead thee by the hand to our Native Land, although it was not intended to speake in particulars of any of these peoples departure from thence, purposing a generall relation should serve the turne, yet come with mee and behold the wonderous worke of *Christ* in preserving two of his most valiant Souldiers, namely Mr. *John Norton*, and that soule ravishing Minister Mr. *Thomas Shepheard*, who came this yeare to *Yarmouth* to ship themselves for *New England*, where the people of God resorted privately unto them to hear them Preach, during the time of their aboade the Enemies of *Christ*s Kingdome were not wanting to use all meanes possible to intrap them, in which perilous condition they remained about two months, waiting for the Ships readinesse, in which time some persons eagerly hunting for Mr. *Thomas Shepheard*, began to plot (for apprehending of him) with a Boy of fixteene or seventeene yeares of Age, who lived in the House where hee Lodged to open the doore for them at a certaine houre in the night ; But the Lord *Christ*, who is the Shepheard of *Israel* kept a most sure watch over his indeared servants, for thus it befell, the sweet words of grace falling from the of lips of this Reverend and godly Mr. *Thomas Shepheard* in the hearing of the Boy (the Lords working withall) hee was perswaded this was an holy man of God, and therefore with many troubled thoughts, began to relate his former practice, although hee had a great some of money promised him, onely to let them in at the houre and time appointed ; but the Boy, the more neere the time came, grew more pensive and sad, infomuch that his Master taking

taking notice thereof began to question him about the cause of his heaviness, who being unwilling to reveale the matter, held off from confessing a long time, till by urgent and insinuating search of his godly Master, with teares hee tells that on such a night hee had agreed to let in Men to apprehend the godly Preacher. The good Man of the house forthwith gave notice thereof unto them, who with the helpe of some well-affected persons was convey'd away by boate through a back Lane, the men at the time appointed came to the house, where finding not the doore open (when they lifted up the Latch) as they expected, they thrust their staves under it to lift it from the hookes, but being followed by some persons, whom the good man of the house had appointed for that end: yet were they boulstred out in this their wicked act by those who set them one worke. Notwithstanding they were greatly ashamed when they mist of their end.

But the Lord Christ intending to make his *New England* Souldiers the very wonder of this Age, brought them into greater straites, that this *Wonder working Providence* might the more appeare in their deliverance, for comming a shipboard, and hoiseing faile to accomplish their Voyage, in little time after they were tossed and sore beaten with a contrary winde, to the losse of the Ships upper worke, with which losse and great perill they were driven back againe, the *Lord Christ* intending to confirme their Faith in shewing them, that although they were brought back, as it were into the mouth of their enemies, yet hee could hide them from the hand of the Hunter, for the space of six moneths longer or thereabout, even till the Spring of the yeare following, at which time (God willing) you shall hear of them againe, in the meane time the Master, and other Sea men made a strange construction of the sore storme they met withall, saying, their Ship was bewitched, and therefore made use of the common Charme ignorant people use, nailing two red hot horse-shoes to their maine mast. But assuredly it was the *Lord Christ*, who hath command both of Winds and Seas, and now would have his people know he hath delivered, and will deliver from so great a death.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Ninth Church of Christ, gathered at Ipswich.

THIS year came over a farther supply of Eminent instruments for furthering this admirable Worke of his, amongst whom the Reverend and judicious servant of Christ Mr. *Nathaniel Ward*, who tooke up his station at the Towne of *Ipswich*, where the faithfull servants of Christ gathered the Ninth Church of his. This Towne is scituated on a faire and delightfull River, whose first rise or spring begins about five and twenty Miles farther up in the Countrey, issuing forth a very pleasant pond. But soone after it betakes its course through a most hideous swamp of large extent, even for many Miles, being a great Harbour for Beares: after its comming forth this place, it groweth larger by the income of many small Rivers, and issues forth in the Sea, due East over against the Island of *Sholes*, a great place of fishing for our *English* Nation, the peopling of this Towne is by men of good ranke and quality, many of them having the yearly Revenue of large Lands in *England* before they came to this Wilderneffe, but their Estates being employed for Christ, and left in banke, as you have formerly heard, they are well content till Christ shall be pleased to restore it againe to them or theirs, which in all reason should be out of the Prelates Lands in *England*. Let all those, whom it concernes (to judge) consider it well, and do Justice herein.

This Towne lies in the *Saggamooreship*, or Earldome of *Agawam*, now by our *English* Nation called *Essex*. It is a very good Haven Towne, yet a little barr'd up at the Mouth of the River, some Marchants here are, (but *Boston*, being the chiefe place of resort of Shipping, carries away all the Trade) they have very good Land for Husbandry, where Rocks hinder not the course of the Plow: the Lord hath bene pleased to increase them in Corne and Cattell of late; Infomuch that they have many hundred quarters to spare yearly, and feed, at the latter end of Summer, the Towne of *Boston* with good Beefe: their Houses are many of them very faire built with pleasant Gardens and Orchards, consisting of about one hundred and forty Families.

Their

Their meeting-houſe is a very good proſpect to a great part of the Towne, and beautifully built, the Church of Chriſt here conſiſts of about one hundred and fixty ſoules, being exact in their converſation, and free from the Epidemicall Diſeaſe of all Re-forming Churches, which under Chriſt is procured by their pious Learned and Orthodox Miniſtery, as in due place (God willing) ſhall be declared, in the meane time, look on the following Meeters concerning that Souldier of Chriſt Maſter *Nathaniel Ward*.

T*Hou ancient Sage, come Ward among
Chriſts ſolfe, take part in this great worke of his,
Why doſt thou ſtand and gaze about ſo long ;
Doſt war in jeſt, why, Chriſt in earneſt is,
And hath thee arm'd with weapons for that end,
To wound and heale his enemies ſubmitting,
Not carnally, then to this worke attend ;
Thou haſt prevail'd the hearts of many hitting.
Although the Presbytery unpleaſant jar,
And errors daily in their braines new coyne :
Deſpayer not, Chriſts truth they ſhall not mar ;
But with his helpe ſuch droſſe from Gold refine.
What Man doſt meane to lay thy Trumpet downe ?
Becauſe thy ſon like Warriar is become,
Hold out or ſure leſſe bright will be thy crowne ;
Till death Chriſts ſervants labour is not done.*

At this time came over the much honoured Mr. *Richard Bel-lingham*, whoſe Eſtate and perſon did much further the civill Government of this wandering people, hee being learned in the Lawes of *England*, and experimentally fitted for the worke, of whom I am bold to ſay as followeth :

R*ichardus now ariſe muſt thou, Chriſt ſeed hath thee to plead,
His peoples cauſe, with equall Laws, in wilderneſſe them lead ;
Though ſlow of ſpeech, thy counſell reach, ſhall each occation well,
Sure thy ſterne looke it cannot brook thoſe wickedly rebell.*

*With labours might, thy pen indite doth Lawes for peoples learning :
That judge with skill, and not with will, unarbitrate discerning ;
Bellingham thou, on valiant now, stop not in discontent,
For Christ with crown, will thee renown, then spend for him, be spent ;
As thou hast done thy race still run till death, no death shall stay,
Christ's work of might, till Scripture light, bring Resurrection day.*

As also about this time for further encouragement in this work of Christ, hee sent over the Reverend servant of his Mr. *Lothrop* to helpe on with the planting of *Plimoth*, which increased but little all this time, although shee be the elder sister of all the united Colonies ; Some reasons in due place may be rendered. This Reverend Minister was soone called to Office by the Church of Christ at *Scituate*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Church of Christ gathered at Newberry,

IN the latter end of this yeare, two sincere servants of Christ, inabled by him with gifts to declare his minde unto his people, came over this broad Ocean, and began to build the Tenth Church of Christ at a Towne called *Newberry*, their names being Mr. *James Noise*, and Mr. *Thomas Parker*, somewhat differing from all the former, and after mentioned Churches in the preheminance of their Presbytery, and it were to be wished that all persons, who have had any hand in those hot contentions, which have fallen out since about Presbyterian and Independent Government in Churches, would have looked on this Example, comparing it with the Word of God, and assuredly it would have stayed (all the godly at left) of either part from such unworthy expressions as have passed to the grief of many of Gods people ; And I doubt not but this History will take of that unjust accusation, and slanderous imputation of the rise of that flood of errors and false Doctrines sprung up of late, as flowing from the Independent or rather congregational Churches. But to follow on, this Town is scituate about twelve miles from *Ipswich*, neere upon the wide venting streames of *Merrimeck* River, whose

whose strong current is such, that it hath forced its passage through the mighty Rocks, which causeth some sudden falls, and hinders Shipping from having any access far into the Land, her banks are in many places stored with Oken Timber of all sorts, of which, that which they commonly call'd white Oke, is not inferiour to our *English* Timber; in this River lie some few Islands of fertill Land, this Towne is stored with Meddow and upland, which hath caused some Gentlemen, (who brought over good Estates, and finding then no better way to improve them) to set upon husbandry, amongst whom that Religious and sincere hearted servant of Christ Mr. *Richard Dummer*, sometime a Magistrate in this little Common-wealth hath holpen on this Town, their houses are built very scattering, which hath caused some contending about removall of their place for Sabbath-Assemblies, their Cattell are about foure hundred head, with store of Corneland in tillage, it consists of about seventy Families, the soules in Church fellowship are about an hundred, the teaching Elders of this Congregation have carried it very lovingly toward their people, permitting of them to assist in admitting of persons into Church-society, and in Church-censures, so long as they Act regularly, but in case of their male-administration, they assume the power wholly to themselves, their godly life and conversation hath hitherto been very amiable, and their paines and care over their flock not inferiour to many others, and being bound together in a more strict band of love then ordinary with promise to spend their dayes together (if the Lord please) and therefore shall not be disunited in the following Verse:

L Oe here Loves twinnes by Christ are sent to Preach
 In wildernesse his little flock among,
 Though Christs Church-way you fully cannot reach;
 So far hold fast as you in's word are strong.
 Parker thy paines with Pen, and Preaching hath
 Roomes buildings left in Prelacy cast downe,
 Though 'gainst her thou defer Gods finall wrath;
 Keepe warring still, and sure thou shalt have crowne.

*Thy Brother thou oh Noise hast holpe to guide :
Christ tender Lambs within his fold to gather,
From East to West thou dost Christs Warriier bide ;
Faint not at last, increase thy fighting rather.*

CHAP. XXXII.

*Of good supply, and seasonable helps the Lord Christ was pleased
to send to further his Wildernesse worke, and particular
for his Churches of Charles Towne, and
Ipswich, and Dorchester.*

YET farther for the encouragement of the people of Christ in these their weak beginnings, he daily brings them in fresh supplies, adding this yeare also the reverend and painfull Minister of his Gospell Mr. *Zachary Simmes*, who was invited soone after his comming over to assist in planting of another Church of *Christ*, but the place being remote from the pretious servants of *Christ* already settled, he chose rather to joyne with some Church among them, and in a short space after hee was called to the Office of a Teaching Elder in the Church of *Christ* at *Charles Towne*, together with Mr. *James*, who was then their Pastor, as you have formerly heard. Among all the godly Women that came through the perilous Seas to war their warfare, the wife of this zealous Teacher, Mrs. *Sarah Simmes* shall not be omitted, nor any other, but to avoid tediousnesse, the vertuous Woman, indued by Christ with graces fit for a Wildernesse condition, her courage exceeding her stature, with much cheerfulness did undergoe all the difficulties of these times of straites, her God through Faith in *Christ* supplying all her wants with great industry, nurturing up her young Children in the feare of the Lord, their number being ten both Sons and Daughters, a certaine signe of the Lords intent to people this vast Wildernesse: God grant they may be valiant in Faith against Sin, Satan and all the enemies of *Christs* Kingdome, following the example of their Father, and Grandfather, who have both suffered for the same, in remembrance of whom these following lines are placed.

Come

*C*ome Zachary, thou must reedifie,
Christ Churches in this Desert Land of his,
With Moses zeale stamp't unto dust defie
All crooked wayes that Christ true worship misse.
With spirits sword and armor girt about:
Thou lay'st on load proud Prelates crowne to crack,
And wilt not suffer Wolfes thy flock to rout;
Though close they creepe, with sheepe skins on their back.
Thy Fathers spirit doubled is upon
Thee Simmes, then war, thy Father fighting died,
In prayer then prove thou like Champion;
Hold out till death, and Christ will crown provide.

After these poore people had welcomed with great joy their newcome Guests, all of a sudden they spy two tall Ships, whose colours shewed them to be some forrein Nation, at which time this little handfull of people began to be much troubled, deeming them to be Rovers, they gathered together such forces as their present condition would afford, very ill-fitted as then to rescue an enemy, but their Lord and Master *Christ Jesus* would not suffer any such to come, and instead of enemies brought in friends, even Dutchmen to furnish them with farther necessary Provision.

For the year 1635. the honoured Mr. *John Haines* was chosen Governour, and the honoured Mr. *Richard Bellingham* Deputy Governour, the number of Free-men added to this little Commonwealth, were about one hundred forty and five. The time now approaching, wherein the *Lord Christ* would have his people come from the Flaile to the Fan, threshing out much this year, increasing the number of his Troopes, and valiant Leaders, the Ships came thicker and faster filled with many worthy personages; Infomuch that the former people began to forget their Poverty, and verily Cold, Purity, Peace and Plenty run all in one channell, Gods people here should sure have met with none other, but the still waters of Peace and Plenty for back and belly soone contract much mudde, as you shall heare (God willing) in the following History: this year came in the honoured Sir

Sir *Henry Vaine*, who aboad not long in this worthy worke, yet mind him I will in the following Lines.

*Sir Henry Vaine once Governour of the English People
in New England.*

*THy Parents Vaine, of worthy fame, in Christ and thou for him:
Through Ocean wide in new world trid a while his warriar bin.
With small defeat thou didst retreat to Brittain ground againe,
There stand thou stout, for Christ hold out, Christs Champion ay
(remaine.*

Also at this time Christ sent over the much honoured and upright hearted servant of his *Richard Saltingstall* Esquire, Son to the before-named Sir *Richard Saltingstall*, who being weary of this Wilderneffe worke, returned home againe not long before, and now his Son being chose to the Office of a Magistrate, continued for some good space of time, helping on the affaires of this little Common-wealth, to the honour of Christ, who hath called him : both Father and Son are here remembered.

*THou worthy Knight, Saltingstall hight, her's gaine doth gold exceed
Then trifle not, its to be got, if thou canst see thy neede.
Why wilt thhu back, and leave as wreck, this worthy worke begun,
Art thou back-bore, Christ will send more, and raise instead thy son.
His Fathers gon, young Richard on here valiantly doth War,
For Christ his truth, to their great Ruth, Heathens opposers are :
To study thou, thy mind dost bow, and daily good promote,
Saltingstall why, then dost thou fly, let all Gods people note.
That thou wilt stand, in thy own Land, Christ there thē strengthen thee
With grace thee heate, that thy retreat, may for his glory be :
At ending day, he thee array, with Glory will not faile,
Breaking graves bands, with his strong hands, and free dust from
death's goale.*

Among these Troopes of Christs Souldiers, came at this time, the godly servant of Christ Mr. *Roger Harlackenden*, a young Gentleman valiant in Faith, and appointed by Christ to assist his people

people in this Defart, he was chose to the Office of a Magistrate, as also to be a choise Leader of their Military Forces, which as yet were but in a strange posture ; And therefore till the yeare 1644. (at which time the Countrey was really placed in a posture of War, to be in a readinesse at all times) there shall not be any thing spoken concerning their Military Discipline, the continuance of this Souldier of Christ was but short, the Lord taking him to rest with himselfe.

HArlackenden *among these men of note Christ hath thee seated :*
In warlike way Christ thee aray with zeal, and love well heated.

As generall belov'd of all, Christ Souldiers honour thee :

In thy young yeares, courage appeares, and kinde benignity.

Short are thy days spēt to his praise, whose Church work thou must aid,

His work shall bide, silver tride, but thine by death is staid.

The number of Ministers that came over this yeare was about eleaven, and many other like faithfull servants of Christ, among whom arrived those two Reverend and laborious servants of his Mr. *Norton*, and Mr. *Shepherd*, of whose narrow escape you have heard the last yeare: Mr. *Norton*, was called to the Office of a Teaching Elder, at the Towne of *Ipswich* to the Church of Christ there, where Mr. *Warde* as yet remained in Office. Also the learned labours of this Souldier of Christ are obvious to our Countrey men, hee Preaching there, the blessing of God hath not onely built up many in the Knowledge of Christ, but also been the meanes of converting diverse soules, turning them from the power of Satan to Faith in Christ, whom the Lord long continue; you shall further hear of Christs gracious assisting of him in the first and last Synod holden here at *Cambridge*, and in the meane time let no man be offended that the Author quickens up his own dull affections, in telling how largely the Lord hath bestowed his Graces upon these Instruments of his, although sinfull dust and ashes.

T*Hou Noble Norton, who art honoured by
 Thy Christ, with learned Arguments doth fill
 Thy mouth with might new errors to destroy;
 And force deceivers silently to yeild.
 Weake dust waite on thy Christ for further strength:
 Who doth his Davids make as Angels bright,
 To trample down his enemies at length;
 All breake or bow unto his Kingdomes might.
 Illettered Men and Women that doe love,
 Preheminnence, condemne thy learned skill,
 But Christ hath given his blessing from above
 Unto thy workes the World with light to fill.
 Christs faithfull servants met in Synod, take
 Thee for their Pen-men Scriptures light to cleere,
 With Scripture shew what Government Christ gave;
 To's Churches till himselfe againe appeare.*

Here my indeared *Reader*, I must mind thee of the industrious servant of Christ Mr. *John Wilson*, who this yeare landed the third time upon this *American* shore from his Native Country, where now againe by the Divine Providence of Christ, hee narrowly escaped the Hunters hands, being cloathed in a Country-mans habit, passing from place to place, declared to the people of God, what great Workes Christ had already done for his people in *New England*, which made many Christian soules long to see these admirable Acts of Christ, although it were not to be enjoyed, but by passing through an Ocean of troubles, Voyaging night and day upon the great deep, which this zealous servant of Christ had now five times passed over: at this time came over the Sage, grave, reverend and faithfull servant of Christ M. *Richard Mather*, indued by the Lord with many Heavenly gifts, of a plaine and upright spirit, apt to teach, full of gracious expressions, and Resolvedly bent to follow the truth, as it is in Jesus, hee was anon after his comming called to Office in the Church of Christ at the Towne of *Dorchester*, to assist in the Worke of the Lord, with Mr. *Marareck*, whose worke not long after was ended by death, leaving Mr. *Mather* alone to continue the same.

With

W*ith cheerfull face Mather doth toile indure
 In wildernesse spending the prime of's age,
 To build Christs Churches, and soules health procure ;
 In battell thou dost deepe thyselfe ingage.
 Marvell not Man that Mather through an host
 Of enemies doth breake, and fighting stands,
 It's Christ him keepes, of him is all his boast ;
 Who power gives to do, and then commands.
 With gracious speech thy Masters Message thou
 Declarest to all, and wouldst have submit,
 That to his Kingdome every knee might bow ;
 But those resist his sword shall surely hit,
 Till age doth crown thy head with hory hairs :
 Well hast thou warr'd, till Mathers young againe,
 Thy son in fight his Fathers strength repayers ;
 Father and Son beate down Christs foes amaine.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

*Of the beginning of the Churches of Christ, to be planted at
 Canectico, and first of the Church of Christ
 removall to Hartford, 1635.*

T*His yeare the servants of Christ, who peopled the Towne
 of Cambridge, were put upon thoughts of removing, hear-
 ing of a very fertill place upon the River of Canectico low Land,
 and well stored with Meddow, which is greatly in esteeme with
 the people of New England, by reason the Winters are very long.
 This people seeing that Tillage went but little on, Resolved to
 remove, and breed up store of Cattell, which were then at eight
 and twenty pound a Cow, or neare upon, but assuredly the Lord
 intended far greater matters than man purposofes, but God dis-
 poses these men, having their hearts gone from the Lord, on
 which they were seated, soone tooke dislike at every little mat-
 ter, the Plowable plaines were too dry and sandy for them, and
 the Rocky places, although more fruitfull, yet to eate their bread
 with toile of hand, and how they deemed it unupportable;*

And therefore they onely waited now for a people of stronger Faith then themselves were to purchase their Houses and Land, which in conceipt they could no longer live upon, and accordingly they met with Chapmen, a people new come, who having bought their possessions, they highed them away to their new Plantation. With whom went the Grave and Reverend servant of Christ Mr. *Hooker*, and Mr. *Stone*, for indeed the whole Church removed, as also the much honoured Mr. *Haynes* & divers other men of note for the place, being out of the *Mattacusets* Patten; they erected another Government, called by the *Indian* name, *Cannetico*, being farther encouraged by two honourable personages, the Lord *Say*, and Lord *Brookes*, who built a Forrest at the mouth of the River, and called it *Say-brook* Forrest: passing up the River, they began to build a Towne, which they called *Hartford*, where this Church of Christ sat down their station, there went to these parts also the Reverend Mr. *Wareham*, and divers from the Towne of *Dorchester*. The place of settling themselves, and erecting a Towne was far upon the River, the part next the Sea being very Rocky, but on the banke of this River they planted the good Towne of *Hartford*, and established civill Government: of their gathering into a Church, you have formerly heard. Onely here minde the gracious servant of *Christ*, Mr. *Wareham*, whose long labours in this worke are exprest.

W*ith length of dayes Christ crowned hath thy head.
 In Wildernesse to manage his great War,
 'Gainst Antichrist by strength of him art lead;
 With steady hand to sling thy stone from far.
 That groveling in his gore may lie smit downe
 This mighty Monster, that the Earth hath taken,
 With's poysons sweet in cup of Gold drunke down;
 Dead drunke those lie whom Christ doth not awaken.
 But Wareham thou by him art sent to save,
 With's word of truth Christ to their soules apply,
 That deadly sin hath laid in rotting Grave
 Dead, live in Christ here, and Eternally.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

*Of Cambridge second Church, being the II. of Christ gathered
in the Mattacufets, and of further supply for
Salem Church.*

THESE people and Church of *Christ* being thus departed from New-towne, the godly people, who came in their roomes, gathered the eleaventh Church of *Christ*, and called to the Office of a Pastor, that gracious sweete Heavenly minded, and soule-ravishing Minister, Mr. *Thomas Shephard*, in whose soule the Lord shed abroad his love so abundantly, that thousands of souls have cause to blesse God for him, even at this very day, who are the Seale of his Ministrey, and hee a man of a thousand, indued with abundance of true saving knowledge for himselfe and others, yet his naturall Parts were weake, but spent to the full as followeth:

NO hungre Hawkes poore Patridge to devoure
More eager is, then Prelates Nimrod power
Thomas to hunt, my Shephard sweet pursue
To seas brinke, but *Christ* saves his soule for you;
Sending thee Shephard, safe through Seas awaie,
To feede his flock unto thy ending day,
Where (sheepe seek wolves) thy bosome lambs would catch;
But night and day thou ceasest not to watch.
And warne with teares thy flock of cheaters vile,
Who in sheepes cloathing would the weak beguile,
With dropping dewes from thy lips *Christ* hath made;
Thy hearers eyes oft water springing blade.
With pierced hearts they cry aloud and say,
Shew us sweet Shephard our salvations way,
Thy lovely speech such ravishment doth bring;
Christ gives thee power to heale as well as sting,
Thou gates sets ope for *Christ* thy King to enter:
In hearts of many spirits joy to center,
But mourne my Muse, hang downe thy head with woe,
With teares, sighs, sobs lament thy Shephard so.

(Why?) hee's in Heaven, but I one Earth am left:
 More Earthly, 'cause of him I am bereft.
 Oh Christ why dost thou Shepheard take away,
 In erring times when sheepe most apt to stray.

The many Souldiers and Officers of *Christ* that came over this yeare, moved some wonder in the mindes of those, whom he had beene pleased to give a great measure of discerning, yet here they fell abundantly short, deeming almost an impossibility of improving their Talents in this Wilderneffe, the *Indian*-people being incapable of understanding their Language, the *Englishe* congregations that were already set downe, being fully furnished with Teaching Elders, and that which was most strange they were perswaded they should meet with no enemies to oppose them, as if *Christ* would lead them forth into the Field in vaine. But *Christ Iesus*, having the hearts of all Men opened before him, soon shewed them their worke, and withall made roome for them to set downe, I and many more beside, yea, and beyond expectation made this poore barren Widernesse become a fruitfull Land unto them that waited on him for the accomplishing thereof, feeding them with the flower of Wheat, as in its time and place (God willing) shall be shewed, although it pleased him this yeare to visit them, and try them againe with a great scarcity of Bread, by reason of the multitude that came brought somewhat shorter Provisions then ordinary, which caused them to be in some straites. But their *Lord Christ* gives out a Word of command to those, who occupy their businesse in the great deepe, to furnish from *Ireland* some Ships laden with food for his people.

Also hee commands the Winds and the Seas to beare up these Ships, and blow them forth on their way, till they arrive among his people in *New England*, whose appetities were now sharpe-set for Bread. One poore man among others deeming hee had found out some forsaken Barnes of the *Indians* (whose manner is to lay up their Corne in the Earth, lighteh one a grave where finding bones of the dead instead of Corne, hee was taken with feare of this, as a sad omen that hee should then die for want of food, but in this hee proved no true Prophet, for the
 Lord

Lord was pleased to bring in feasonable fupply, and the man is living at this very day. This yeere came over the Famous fervant of *Chrift* M. *Hugh Peters*, whose courage was not inferiour to any of thefe transported fervants of *Chrift*, but becaufe his native Soile hath had the greateft fhare of his labours, the leffe will be faid of him here, hee was called to Office by the Church of *Chrift*, at *Salem*, their former Pastor the Reverend M. *Higgingfon*, having ended his labours refting with the Lord.

W*ith courage bold Peters a Souldier stout
In Wildernesse for Chrift begins to war,
Much worke he finds 'mongst people, yet hold out;
With fluent tongue he stops phantastick jar.
Swift Torrent stayes of liberties large vent:
Through crooked wayes of error daily flowing,
Shiloes soft streames to bath in would all bent;
Should he while they in Christian freedome growing.
But back thou must, thy Tallents Christs will have
Improved for him, his glory is thy crowne,
And thou base dust till he thee honour gave;
It matters not though the world on thee do frown.*

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Twelfth Church of Chrift gathered at Concord.

YET further at this time entered the Field two more valiant Leaders of *Christs* Souldiers, holy men of God, Mr. *Buckly* and M. *Jones*, penetrating further into this Wildernesse then any formerly had done, with divers other fervants of *Chrift*: they build an Inland Towne which they called *Concord*, named from the occasion of the present time, as you shall after heare: this Towne is feated upon a faire fresh River, whose Rivelets are filled with fresh Marsh, and her streames with Fish, it being a branch of that large River of *Merrimeck Allwifes*, and Shad in their feason come up to this Towne, but *Salmon* and *Daice* cannot come up by reason of the Rocky falles, which causeth their

their Meddowes to lie much covered with water, the which these people together with their Neighbour Towne, have severall times assayed to cut through but cannot, yet it may be turned another way with an hundred pound charge, as it appeared, this Towne was more populated once then now it is (some faint-hearted Souldiers among them fearing the Land would prove barren, sold their possessions for little, and removed to a new Plantation, (which have most commonly a great prize set on them) the number of Families at present are about 50. their buildings are conveniently placed chiefly in one strait streame under a funny-banke in a low levell, their heard of great Cattell are about 300. the Church of Christ here consists of about seventy foules, their teaching Elders were Mr. *Buckly*, and Mr. *Jones*, who removed from them with that part of the people, who went away, so that onely the reverend grave and godly Mr. *Buckly* remains.

Concord the 12
Church.

Riches and honours *Buckly* layes aside
 To please his Christ, for whom he now doth war,
 Why *Buckly* thou hast Riches that will bide,
 And honours that exceeds Earths honour far.
 Thy bodies worne, and dayes in Desert spent
 To feede a few of Christs poore scattered sheepe,
 Like Christ's bright body, thy poore body rent;
 With Saints and Angells company shall keepe.
 Thy Tongue, and Pen doth to the World declare:
 Christs covenant with his flock shall firmly stand,
 When Heavens and Earth by him dissolved are;
 Then who can hold from this his worke at hand.
 Two *Bucklies* more Christ by his grace hath taken,
 And sent abroad to manage his great wars.
 I'ts *Buklies* joy that Christ his sons new making,
 Hath placest in's churches for to shine as Stars.

This holy and sincere fervant of Christ was put upon the greater tryall, by reason he and his were tenderly brought up, and now by the provident hand of Christ were carried far into this desertland, where they met with some hardships for a long time, till the place was well peopled, they lived barely.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the laborious worke Christs people have in planting this wilderness set, forth in the building the Towne of Concord, being the first in-land Towne.

Now because it is one of the admirable acts of Christ Providence in leading his people forth into these Westerne Fields, in his providing of Huts for them, to defend them from the bitter stormes this place is subject unto, therefore here is a short Epitome of the manner how they placed downe their dwellings in this Desart Wildernesse, the Lord being pleased to hide from the Eyes of his people the difficulties they are to encounter withall in a new Plantation, that they might not thereby be hindered from taking the worke in hand; upon some inquiry of the *Indians*, who lived to the North-west of the Bay, one Captaine *Simon Willard* being acquainted with them, by reason of his Trade, became a chiefe instrument in erecting this Town, the land they purchase of the *Indians*, and with much difficulties traveling through unknowne woods, and through watery scrampes, they discover the fitnesse of the place, sometimes passing through the Thickets, where their hands are forced to make way for their bodies passage, and their feete clambering over the crossed Trees, which when they missed they sunke into an uncertaine bottome in water, and wade up to the knees, tumbling sometimes higher and sometimes lower, wearied with this toile, they at end of this meete with a scorching plaine, yet not so plaine, but that the ragged Bushes scratch their legs foully, even to wearing their stockings to their bare skin in two or three houres; if they be not otherwise well defended with Bootes, or Buskings, their flesh will be torne: (that some being forced to passe on without further provision) have had the bloud trickle downe at every step, and in the time of Summer the Sun casts such a reflecting heate from the sweet Ferne, whose scent is very strong so that some herewith have beene very nere fainting, although very able bodies to undergoe much travell, and this not to be indured for one day, but for many, and verily did not the Lord incourage their naturall parts (with hopes of a new and

strange discovery, expecting every houre to see some rare sight never seene before) they were never able to hold out, and breake through: but above all, the thirsting desires these servants of Christ have had to Plant his Churches, among whom the fore-named Mr. *Jones* shall not be forgotten.

I*N Desart's depth where Wolves and Beares abide,
 There Jones sits down a wary watch to keepe,
 O're Christs deare flock, who now are wandered wide;
 But not from him, whose eyes ne're close with sleepe.
 Surely it sutes thy melancholly minde,
 Thus solitary for to spend thy dayes,
 Much more thy soule in Christ content doth finde,
 To worke for him, who thee to joy will raise.
 Leading thy son to Land, yet more remote,
 To feede his flock upon this Westerne wast:
 Exhort him then Christs Kingdome to promote;
 That he with thee of lasting joyes may tast.*

Yet farther to tell of the hard labours this people found in Planting this Wilderneffe, after some dayes spent in search, toying in the day time as formerly is said; like true *Jacob*, its they rest them one the Rocks where the night takes them, their short repast is some small pittance of Bread, if it hold out, but as for Drinke they have plenty, the Countrey being well watered in all places that yet are found out, their farther hardship is to travell, sometimes they know not whether, bewildred indeed without sight of Sun, their compasse miscarrying in crouding through the Bushes, they sadly search up and down for a known way, the *Indians* paths being not above one foot broad, so that a man may travell many dayes and never find one. But to be sure the directing Providence of Christ hath beene better unto them than many paths, as might here be inserted, did not haft call my Pen away to more waighty matters; yet by the way a touch thus, it befell with a servant maide, who was travelling about three or foure miles from one Towne to another, loosing her selfe in the Woods, had very diligent search made after her for the space of three dayes, and could not possible be found, then

then being given over as quite lost, after three dayes and nights, the Lord was pleased to bring her feeble body to her own home in safety, to the great admiration of all that heard of it. This intricate worke no whit daunted these resolved servants of Christ to goe on with the worke in hand, but lying in the open aire, while the watery Clouds poure down all the night season, and sometimes the driving Snow dissolving on their backs, they keep their wet cloathes warme with a continued fire, till the renewed morning give fresh opportunity of further travell; after they have thus found out a place of aboad, they burrow themselves in the Earth for their first shelter under some Hill-side, casting the Earth aloft upon Timber; they make a smoaky fire against the Earth at the highest side, and thus these poore servants of Christ provide shelter for themselves, their Wives and little ones, keeping off the short showers from their Lodgings, but the long raines penetrate through, to their great disturbance in the night season: yet in these poore *Wigwames* (they sing Psalmes, pray and praise their God) till they can provide them houses, which ordinarily was not wont to be with many till the Earth, by the Lords blessing, brought forth Bread to feed them, their Wives and little ones, which with fore labours they attaine every one that can lift a hawe to strike it into the Earth, standing stoutly to their labours, and teare up the Rootes and Bushes, which the first yeare beares them a very thin crop, till the soard of the Earth be rotten, and therefore they have been forced to cut their bread very thin for a long season. But the Lord is pleased to provide for them great store of Fish in the spring time, and especially Alewives about the bignesse of a Herring, many thousands of these, they used to put under their *Indian* Corne, which they plant in Hills five foote asunder, and assuredly when the Lord created this Corne, hee had a speciall eye to supply these his peoples wants with it, for ordinarily five or six graines doth produce six hundred.

As for flesh they looked not for any in those times (although now they have plenty) unlesse they could barter with the *Indians* for Venison or Rockoons, whose flesh is not much inferiour unto Lambe, the toile of a new Plantation being like the labours of *Hercules* never at an end, yet are none so barbarously bent

(under the *Mattacusets* especially) but with a new Plantation they ordinarily gather into Church-fellowship, so that Pastors and people suffer the inconveniences together, which is a great meanes to season the fore labours they undergoe, and verily the edge of their appetite was greater to spirituall duties at their first comming in time of wants, than afterward: many in new Plantations have been forced to go barefoot, and bareleg, till these latter dayes, and some in time of Frost and Snow: Yet were they then very healthy more then now they are: in this Wildernesse-worke men of Estates speed no better than others, and some much worfe for want of being inured to such hard labour, having laid out their estate upon cattell at five and twenty pound a Cow, when they came to winter them with in-land Hay, and feed upon such wild Fother as was never cut before, they could not hold out the Winter, but ordinarily the first or second yeare after their comming up to a new Plantation, many of their Cattell died, especially if they wanted Salt-marshes: and also those, who supposed they should feed upon Swines flesh were cut short, the Wolves commonly feasting themselves before them, who never leave neither flesh nor bones, if they be not scared away before they have made an end of their meale, as for those who laid out their Estate upon Sheepe, they speed worst of any at the beginning (although some have sped the best of any now) for untill the Land be often fed with other Cattell Sheepe cannot live; And therefore they never thrived till these latter dayes: Horse had then no better successe, which made many an honest Gentleman travell a foot for a long time, and some have even perished with extreame heate in their travells: as also the want of English graine, Wheate, Barly and Rie proved a fore affliction to some stomacks, who could not live upon *Indian* Bread and water, yet were they compelled to it till Cattell increased, and the Plowes could but goe: instead of Apples and Peares, they had Pomkins and Squashes of divers kinds, their lonesome condition was very grievous to some, which was much aggravated by continuall feare of the *Indians* approach, whose cruelties were much spoken of, and more especially during the time of the *Pegot* wars.

Thus this poore people populate this howling Defart,
marching

marching manfully on (the Lord assisting) through the greatest difficulties, and forest labours that ever any with such weak means have done.

CHAP. XXXVII.

*Of the Thirteenth Church of Christ gathered at
Hingham, 1636.*

AT this time also came to shore the servant of Christ Master *Peter Hubbard*, whom the Lord was pleased to make use of for feeding his people in this Wildernesse, being called to Office by the Church of Christ at the Town of *Hingham*, which is situate upon the Sea coasts South-east of *Charles River*, being a place nothing inferiour to their Neighbours for situation, and the people have much profited themselves by transporting Timber, Planke and Mast for Shipping to the Town of *Boston*, as also Ceder and Pine-board to supply the wants of other Townes, and also to remote parts, even as far as *Barbadoes*. They want not for Fish for themselves and others also.

This Towne consisted of about sixty Families, the forme is somewhat intricate to describe, by reason of the Seas waisting crookes, where it beates upon a mouldering shore, yet have they compleat streetes in some places, the people joynd in Church covenant in this place, were much about an hundred soules, but have been lessened by a sad unbrotherly contention, which fell out among them, waisting them every way, continued already for seven yeares space, to the great grieffe of all other Churches, who held out the right hand of fellowship unto them in Brotherly communion, which may (the Lord helping) demonstate to all the true Churches of *Christ* the World throughout, although they be distanced by place or Nation, yet ought they never to take up such an Independent way, as to reject the advise and counsell of each other, for although the Lord *Christ* have compleated his commission in giving full power to every particular Church to exercise all his Ordinances in and toward their owne body, yet hath the Lord so dispensed his gifts, that when the one want, the other shall abound both in spirituall and tem-

porall, that by giving and receiving mutuall love may be maintained, the intire truthes of *Christ* continued, the Churches of *Christ* supported, superiority of any may be avoided, and all such as raise discord among Brethren may be retarded, the downfall of Antichrist, and restauration of that antient people of the Lord furthered, through the Unity of *Christs* Churches the World throughout: this Church I hope will give signall to others (the Lord assisting) that they split not upon the Rock. Of their Pastors I shall say no more, but this at present.

O Hubbard ! *why do'st leave thy native soile ?*
Is't not to war 'mongst Christ's true worthies here,
What wilt give out, thou'lt loose thy former toile ?
And starve Christs flock, which he hath purchast deare.
What would's thou have, speake plaine, truth bides the light :
To Gods word goe, it's that must triall be,
Hath cruell sword, not het one thy side right,
Increase in love, and thou wilt Justice see.
With humble, holy, learned men converse,
Thee and thy flock they would in one unite,
And all the fogs of selfe conceit disperse ;
Thee and thy sons the Lord Christ guide aright.

Some other of the Ministers of Christ arrived this year 1635. As Mr. *Flint*, Mr. *Carter*, and Mr. *Walton* and some others, of whom we shall speake (by the Lord assistance) in due time and place, in the meane time here is to be remembred Mr. *Thomas Flint* a sincere servant of *Christ*, who had a faire yearly Revenue in *England*, but having improved it for Christ, by casting it in the common Treasury, as it appeares in the former part of this History, he waites on the Lord for doubling his Talent, if it shall seeme good unto him so to doe, and the meane time spending his person for the good of his people in the Office of a Magistrate.

At

*AT Christs commands, thou leav'st thy lands, and native habitation:
 His folke to aid, in Desart straid, for Gospells Exaltation,
 Flint Hardy thou, wilt not allow, the undermining Fox,
 With subtill skill, Christs vines to spill, thy sword shall give the knocks.
 Yet thou base dust, and all thou hast is Christ's, and by him thou:
 Art made to be, such as we see, hold fast for ever now.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

*Of the placing down of many Souldiers of Christ, and gathering the
 Church of Christ at Sandwitch in Plimouth patten, and further
 supply for the Churches of Ipwich and Linne.*

THis yeare 1636. Sir *Henry Vaine*, was chofen Governour, and *John Winthrop* Esquire Deputy Governour, the number of Freemen added were about eighty three. This yeare came over the much honoured Mr. *Fenwick* a godly and able instrument to assist in helping to uphold the civill Government of the second, and third Colonies here planted, by the Divine Providence of the most high God, hee having purchased the Plantation of *Saybrooke-Fort*, became a good encourager to the Church of Christ at *Hartford*, where the reverend Mr. *Hooker*, and Mr. *Stone* were Officers. In remembrance of whom a few lines take here.

Fenwick among this Christian throng, to wildernesse doth flee:
*There learn'd hast thou, yet further how, Christ should advanced be.
 Who for that end, doth back thee send, their Senator to fit;
 In native soile for him still toile, while thou hast season fit,
 His Churches peace, do not thou cease, with their increase to bring,
 That they and thee, in lasting Glee, may Hallelujah sing.*

The beginning of this yeare was spent in accommodating these new come Guests in the former yeare, whose numbers was neer about three thousand, and now they began to be perswaded they should be a settled people, not minding the present dangers they were in, as you shall hear anon, onely in the meane time take

take notice of further supply the Lord Christ was pleased to fend before the cattell increased to its strength, among whom the aged, and long continued Souldiers of Christ Jesus Mr. *Partrich*, as also Mr. *Nathaniel Rogers* an able disputant, whose mouth the Lord was pleased to fill with many arguments for the defence of his truth, Mr. *Samuel Whiting*, who hath also, with keeping to the patterne of found and wholesome Doctrines, much stopped the spreading Leaven of the Pharises, Mr. *Partrich* was called to Office at a Towne then named *Dukes Berry* in *Plimoth* Government, scituated upon the Sea-coast, where the people of Christ being gathered into a Church, Ordained him to be their Pastor.

I*N* thine owne soile well rooted in the truth,
 Thou didst stand fast by Prelates power unbow'd,
 But Laude layes load on Gods folke to his Ruth,
 By whom thou mayst, no longer be alow'd.
 Then Partrich thou thy wings begins to spread
 Of Faith and Love to flie these long Seas o're,
 To wilderness where thou Christs Lambes hast fed;
 With's sincere Milke this fourteene yeare and more.
 But now with age thy Almon Tree doth flourish,
 Yet spreading like the Palme Tree dost thou stand,
 Pth house of God Christ Rote thy Boughs do nourish;
 And for thy head he hath a Crowne in's hand.

Mr. *Nathaniel Rogers* being landed, after a long and tedious Voyage at Sea, was welcomed by the Church of Christ at *Ipswich*, where the Reverened and Judicious Mr. *Nathaniel Ward*, although a very able Preacher, and much desired, yet for some naturall infirmity (himselfe being best privy unto) desired to be unbound of his ingagement with his people in point of Office: that being left to his liberty, hee might Preach more seldom, in whose stead the Church called to Office this Reverend and Holy Man of God Mr. *Nathaniel Rogers*, whose labours in this *Westerne* World, have been very much: a very sweet heavenly minded man, of whom the Author is bold to say as followeth:

Through

T*Hrough boystrous Seas thy brittle frame of Man
 It safely is in Christ's sweet armes infold,
 No wonder then thou weake dust stotly can
 Preach Christs in's truths, why he doth thee uphold?
 Why Rogers he thee over-Sea hath sett
 Against the day of Battell, now at hand,
 No sooner are thy feet one those shores set,
 But Leaders do Christ truth withstand.
 Undaunted thou these Westerne Fields dost enter,
 Filled with the spirits ready sword at hand,
 Engage thou wilt thy selfe, 'mongst hardships venter;
 Valiant thou foughtst under thy Christ's command.
 And yet with all men wouldst have peace thy aime,
 If deepe to wound, and sweetly then to say,
 Come to my Christ, hee'l heale your wounds againe;
 Canst but submit hee'l never say thee nay.
 With learned Method thou Gods Word divides:
 Long labouring that each soule may take his part,
 Thy gracious speech with grave impressiion bides;
 Thus Christ by thee is pleas'd to win the heart.
 My Muse lament, Nathaniel is decaying:
 Why dost thou grutch him Heaven, such toile hath had,
 In Christ his Vineyard rather be thou praying;
 That in Christs armes he resting may be glad.*

Mr. *Samuel Whiting* was well welcomed by the Church of *Christ* at *Cawgust*, which Towne, being now of age to receive an English name, was called *Linne*, where this Reverend man now hath his aboade.

T*Hy ardent Love, the countlesse Oceans measure
 Quench cannot, for thy love on him is set,
 Who of true love hath aie the depthlesse Treasure,
 Doth thine increase, least thou should'st, his forget.
 Love Christ in's truths my Whiting thou hast done:
 Thou wilt not suffer with their leaven sower,
 False Doctrines 'mongst thy tender flock to run;
 Timely cut off wilt thou all those devour.*

Samuel mourns not thy strength in Desart's spent:
 Rather rejoyce thy Christ makes use of thee
 Soules to convert, his Kingdomes large extent
 From East to West shall shortly settled be.
 Thine Eyes and Eares have seen and heard great things
 Done by thy Christ, shewes he thy toile accepts,
 Though thy weake flesh weaker to dust hee'l bring;
 Thy quickned spirit increast in his joy leaps.

 CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the first appearing in the Field, of the enemies of Christs people in point of Reformation.

AND now to follow our first simile of a Souldier, the Lord Christ having safely landed many a valiant Souldier of his on these Westerne shores, drawes hither also the common enemies to Reformation, both in Doctrine and Discipline; But it was for like end, as the Lord sometime drew *Sifera* the Captaine of *Jabins* army to the River *Kishon* for their destruction, onely herein was a wide difference; there *Sifera* was delivered into the hands of a Woman, and here *Sifera* was a woman; their weapons and warre was carnall, these spirituall; there *Jabin* was but a man, here *Jabin* was the common enemy of mans salvation.

In the year 1636. the Angels of the severall Churches of Christ in *N. England* founding forth their silver Trumpets, heard ever and anon the jarring found of ratling Drums in their eares, striking up an alarum to the battell, it being a frequent thing publikely to oppose the pure and perfect truths of Christ (delivered by the mouth of his Ministers) and that by way of question as the Pharises, Sadduces and Herodians did Christ. But to bring this disorderly worke of theirs into some order, for assuredly could the Author come up to relate the full of the matter in hand, it would through the mercy of Christ make much for the good of Gods people the World throughout, and helpe to discover the last (I hope) but most subtile practises of Satan to hinder the Restauration of the purity of Christs Ordinances in his Churches in all places; As also used by him and his instruments

to

to divert the hands of those, to whom it belongs, from pulling downe Antichrist, to which end he stirreth up some of his instruments (well educated in the Masking schoole of Hippocrisy) to take upon them this long Voyage, giving them in charge by all meanes to carry it more close, then his Jesuites had done, and for their paines they should have the honours to be counted such, as were of a sharper fight, and deeper discerning then any others. Satan, knowing right well that at the fall of Antichrist hee must be chained up for a thousand years, strives with all the wicked craft his long experienced malicioufnesse could possibly invent, to uphold the same, having already perswaded many that his Kingdome was wholly ruinated with our English Nation, and so diswaded them a long time from further prosecuting against him. But Antichrists Kingdome, as it plainly appears by Scripture, consists chiefly in two parts, his deceaveible Doctrines, and his Kingly power. The first of these being in measure abolished, the latter was still retained by the Prelacy, and some Lording Presbytery in greater or lesser measure, as they could attaine unto it.

Now Satan, who is daily walking to and fro compassing the Earth, seeing how these resolved Souldiers of Christ in *New England* with indefatigable paines laboured, not onely the finall ruine of Antichrist, in both, but also the advance of Christs Kingdome, in setting up daily Churches according to his first institution. Wherefore he sets upon a new way to stop (if it were possible) this worke of Reformation, and seeing no other way will serve, he stirs up instruments to cry down Antichrist as much as the most, I and more too, but by this project they should leade people as much out of the way on the other hand, and in the Doctrinall part of Antichrists Kingdome, fall to more horrid Blasphemies then the Papist (as God willing) you shall heare some of them did, namely the *Gortenisß*, who most blasphemously professe themselves to be personally the Christ: and as for the other part of his Kingdome, namely the power or Dominion of the beast, this they should with all violence batter downe also, but it must be none other then to make way for their owne exaltation, and pay them their wages in the former page promised them, as also withall to overthrow the authority Christ hath or-

dained to be continued in his Churches, in and under him, and furthermore to lock up the Sword of Civill Government for ever, especially in matters that concerne the foure first Comands of God, a cunning way to save the beafts head whole.

You have now heard of the intention, you shall now see their actions. The *Lord Christ* in his boundlesse mercy give all his people eyes to see, and hearts to believe, that after they have in measure escaped the filthy pollutions of the beast, they may not againe be intangled with these damnabled Doctrines, stealing away their hearts by degrees, under a seeming shew of pulling down Antichrist. The Embassadors of *Christ Jesus*, having full liberty to deliver their masters minde, Preach unto all the Doctrines of Free grace, beseeching them to be reconciled unto God in Christ, and that the revealed will of God is, that all should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and that God hath given his onely begotten Son, *That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting Life.* Yet withall minding them that Faith is the gift of God, and none can come unto Christ, but such as the Father drawes, and withall that the whole will not see any need of the Phisicians, but the sick, adding also that none can come to the sight of his sicknesse or dead condition but by the Law of God, unlesse they be quicker fought then the Apostle; They indeavour also to build up others in their holy Faith, that they might come to see the Love of God in Christ, which passeth knowledge, and to this end they shew them the fruits of Faith which worketh by love, and that love will be obedient to all the commands of Christ, who saith, *if you love me keepe my Commandements*; And further that Faith purifies the heart, and that a constant supply must be had from Christ. With these and the like sound and wholsome truths the Ministers of Christ feeds their severall flocks in *New England*, drawing their Doctrines plainly from their Text, and substantially backing them with store of Scripture, and undeniable reason, and then delivering to every man his portion.

But this good old way would not serve the turne with certaine Sectaries that were hither come, who like cunning Sophisters, seeing the bent of the peoples hearts (after so many mercies received) was to magnifie the rich Grace of God in Christ; they

they began to tell the people (yet very privately) that the most, if not all the Ministers among them Preached a Covenant of workes, either course or fine, and with a what doe you say to this. They begin to spread their Errors and Herefies, laying the foundation of them as nere the truth as possible they can, the easier to deceive, but in the profecution, to be sure they ran far enough from it, but to begin; First, they quarrell with the Doctrine of Faith in Christ, and say, a Soule is justified without it.

 CHAP. XL.

Of the cunning policy of Satan in that machevillian Principle, divide and overcome, and of the two first dividing Principles, by which many errors were brought in.

AND verily Satans policy here (as in all places where the Lord Christ is acknowledged) was to keepe men from that one right way, by the which hee applies himselfe to the soule, no marvell then if so many Errours arise, like those fained heads of *Hidra*, as fast as one is cut off two stand up in the roome, and chiefly about the uniting of a soule to Christ by Faith. Their Errors in this point they reported to be the judgement of the Reverend and Judicious Mr. *John Cotten*; But hee having spoken for himselfe in his answer to Mr. *Baily*, I forbeare, onely this by the way, take notice of these subtill Projectors, the Erronist I meane, who perceiving this holy man of God Mr. *Cotten* was, and yet is in great esteeme with the people of God, for the great grace Christ hath bestowed upon him in his deepe discerning the mysteries of godlinesse, as also discerning some little difference betweene him, and the other Elders about this point, comment upon it, and in large at their pleasure, and then in daily venting their deceivable Doctrines, like subtill Logicians, bring in this as their strongest argument in the last place. I'll tell you Friend, Neighbour, Brother, if you will forbeare to speake of it till you hear farther, this is the judgement of M. *Cotten*, when he, it may be had never heard of it, or at least wise, when they brought this their bastardly brat to him, they put another vizard on the face
of

of it: but that you may understand their way of broaching their abominable errors, it was in dividing those things the Lord hath united in his worke of conversion continued, carrying on a Soule to Heaven in these foure Particulars.

1. Dividing
betweene the
Word, and the
Word.

First, in dividing betweene the word and the word, under presence of a legall Gospell, perswading the people their Ministers were legall Preachers, teaching them little better then Popery, and unfit for Gospell Churches, denying them to be any Ministers of Christ that Preach any preparation worke, by shewing men what the Law requires. Here's nothing sayes one of them, but Preaching out of the Law and the Prophets, truly sayes another of them I have not heard a pure Gospell Sermon from any of them, but fure they were both troubled with the Lethargy, or read not the Gospell themselves, for they may finde the Apostles, yes, and Christ himselfe Preached good Gospell fure, out of the Law and the Prophets.

2. Christ and
his Graces.

Secondly, in separating Christ and his Graces, in manifesting himselfe to be in the Soule, and this they say makes much for the magnifying of Free-grace, and indeed they made it so free, that the soule that receives it shall never taste any of it by their consent, but remaine still a dry branch as before; these legall Pharises, sayes one of them, tell us of a thing they call inherent grace, and of a man being made a new creature, but I am fure the best of them goe on in their legall duties and performances still, forrowing for sinne hearing of Sermons, observing duty Morning and Evening, and many such like matters. Tush man sayes another of them, you shall hear more then this, I was discourfing with one of their Scholasticall Preachers Disciples, a professed convert, and yet when he came to pray, he beg'd for forgiveness of his sins, I asked him why he used that vaine repetition, since hee did believe he was justified by Christ already, and hee made me an answer not worth repeating, but when I told him God could see no sinne in his people, no more than I could see that which was covered clofe from my eye-sight; hee told mee I spake little lesse then blasphemy, so ignorant are these men, and their learned guides also; who perswade them the more they have of the in-dwelling of the Spirit of Christ, the better they shall be inabled to these legall duties. Nay, quoth the other, I can tell you
more

more then all this, they make it an evidence of their good estate, even their sanctification, and yet these men would make people believe they are against Popery.

By this discourse of theirs, you may see the manner how these Erronious, and Hereticall persons batter off the fruit from the goodly branches of Christs vines & make bare the flourishing trees planted in the house of the Lord, and yet professe themselves to be Schollars of the upper forme, that have learned as far as their Masters can teach them, but let me tell you friends you'l prove but trewants if you fall thus to Robbing of Orchards, and its an offence far beyond petty Larceny, to rob Christs Garden, let your pretences be what they will: can it possible be for the magnifying of Christs Grace that the branches growing upon his root should remaine fruitlesse? no assuredly, herein God is glorified that his people bring forth much fruit, yet many of these new Gospellers had another plea, hypocrites have a seeming shew of Saints graces by which they deceive themselves and others; And therefore because Felons and Traytors coyne counterfeit Gold, therefore true Gold should not passe for current, but the intent of the Author is to prosecute the History, these errors being confuted already by the able servants of Christ, whom the Lord in his mercy brought hither for that purpose.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the two latter dividing Principles under which these Erronists fought.

THe third dividing tenent, by which these persons prosecuted ^{3. The Word,} their errors at this time, was betweene the Word of God, ^{and the spirit.} and the Spirit of God, and here these Sectaries had many pretty knacks to delude withall, and especially to please the Femall Sex, they told of rare Revelations of things to come from the spirit (as they say) it was onely devised to weaken the Word of the Lord in the mouth of his Ministers, and withall to put both ignorant and unlettered Men and Women, in a posture of Preaching to a multitude, that they might be praised for their able Tongue. Come along with me faves one of them, i'le bring you

you to a Woman that Preaches better Gospell then any of your black-coates that have been at the Ninneverfity, a Woman of another kinde of spirit, who hath had many Revelations of things to come, and for my part, faith hee, I had rather hear such a one that speakes from the meere motion of the spirit, without any study at all, then any of your learned Scollers, although they may be fuller of Scripture (I) and admit they may speake by the helpe of the spirit, yet the other goes beyond them. Gentle Reader, thinke not these things fained, because I name not the parties, or that here is no witnesse to prove them, should I so do: neither of both is the cause I assure you, but being somewhat acquainted with my own weakenesse, should the Lord withdraw the light of his word, and also I verily believe some of them are truly turned againe to the truth, the which I wish to all, yet by relating the story all men may see what a spirit of giddinesse they were given up to, and some of them to strong delusions, even to most horrid and damnable blasphemies, having itching eares, or rather proud desires to become Teachers of others, when they grossly erred in the first Principles of Religion themselves. There was a man in one of the farthest Townes of the *Mattacusetts* Government, where they had no Ministers for the present, he being much desirous to shew himselfe some body in talking to as many as hee could get to hear him one the Sabbath day, missing some of his Auditors, he meets with one of them some few dayes after, they passing over the water together, where were you quoth he on the Sabbath day that you were not at the meeting? we had a notable piece of Prophecy, quoth the man that was missing, who was it that Preached? The other replying not: his Wife being in presence, answered; it was my husband, nay wife, quoth he thou shouldst not have told him, teach him to stay at home another time.

By this and divers other such like matters, which might be here inserted, you may see how these Sectaries love the prehe- minence, and for this end seeke to deprive the Ministers of Christ inveigling as many as they can in the head, that they take to much upon them (just like the rebellious *Korath*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*) scoffing at their Scholler-like way of Preaching, wherein the grosse diffimulation of these erroneous persons hath ap-
peared

peared exceedingly, as for instance first of a Woman, even the grand Mistris of all the rest, who denied the Resurrection from the dead, shee and her comforts mightily rayling against learning, perswading all they could to take heed of being spoyled by it, and in the meane time, shee her selfe would dispute (forsooth) and to shew her skill that way, here is a falacy quoth she in this syllogisme: as also one of the *Gortonists*, as shallow a pated Scholler as my selfe, far from understanding Latine, much lesse any other Language the Scriptures were writ in, yet when hee would hold out some of the best of his false Doctrines, as namely, that there were no other Devills but wicked men, nor no such thing as sin. Quoth he that place in the fourth *Psalme*, where men commonly read, *stand in awe and sin not*, in the originall it is read *stand in awe and misse not*. But to go on, at this time there were many strange Revelations told both of Men and Women, as true some of them said as the Scripture, so that surely had this Sect gone on awhile, they would have made a new Bible, and their chief Mistris when she was shipt for *N. England*, what will you say quoth she, and it hath beene revealed to me that we shall be there in six weekes, and one of the femall *Gortonists* said, she was a Prophetesse, and it was revealed unto her, that shee must prophecy unto the People in the same words the Prophet *Ezekiel* did, as also a lusty big man to defend this tenent held forth to his Pastor before the whole Congregation, that the spirit of Revelation came to him as he was drinking a pipe of Tobacco.

The fourth dividing way to bring in their Heresies, was to divide betweene Christ and his Ordinances, and here they plaid their game to purpose, even to casting down of all Ordinances as carnall, and that because they were polluted by the Ordinance of man, as some of these Sectaries have said to the Minister of Christ, you have cast off the crosse in Baptisme, but you should do well to cast off Baptisme it selfe; as also for the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, for to make use of Bread, or the juce of a silly Grape to represent the Body and Bloud of Christ, they accounted it as bad as Negromancy in the Ministers of Christ to performe it. But seeing there will be occasion to bring in a bedroule of these Blasphemies in the yeare (43) and (44) take the lesse here; onely minde that these persons being first bewildred

4. Christ, and his Ordinances.

in the deniall of Infants being Baptized, could neither finde right faith to be Baptized into, nor yet any person rightly constituted to Baptize remaining. Seekers they came to this, but yet here must not be omitted the flights these Erronists had to shoulder out the Officers Christ hath ordained, and set up in his Churches; and verily in this point they sided directly with the Papist and Prelates, although in most of the other they went directly out of the way on the other hand. Ignorance say the Papist is the Mother of devotion, its better say the Protestant Prelates to have (a blind fir *John*) one that cannot tell how to Preach, provided he will conforme to our Ceremonies, than to have one that will Preach constantly, and not conforme also: these Erronist, shewing themselves to be whelps of the same litter, Cry out against a learned Presbitery, as the onely way to captivate liberty, and herein the transformed Devill came to shew his Hornes, for why, his errors would not take where the people were followers of their seeing guides, and if it be well noted, here is the Master-piece of all their knavery, the which comes in after this manner, The Lording Prelacy, Popes, Cardinalls, Bishops, Deanes, &c. Were ordinarily brought up at the University to learning, and have most tyrannically abused it: usurping over the People of Christ, and exercised most inhumane and barbarous cruelty upon them; as also the Presbyterian Kirke by these Provinciaall Classes, men of learning having robbed the particular Congregations of their just and lawfull priviledges, which Christ hath purchased for them. Each Congregation of his being invested with full power to Administer all the Ordinances he hath ordained, in and toward their owne Members; and further learned men in some places, feeding the people for their Tith-fake in a Parishioniall way, desire the upholding thereof, lest their fat Benefices should grow leane.

Now the Redemption of the people of Christ out of all these bondages, being full of difficulty to attaine, as is abundantly witnessed in the great hardship Gods people have undergon in this Wildernesse-worke; as also much more by that bloody war so long continved in our Native Country, and the two adjacent Kingdomes. This makes a very faire bottome for those to build upon, who would have the fluce of authority in the Officers
of

of Christs Churches plucked up, that so their errors might flow in like a floud; And therefore they impannell a Jury of their own Sectaries to passe upon all such as put a higher esteem upon their Pastors and Teachers (in point of discerning the holy things of God) then upon other men, who returne in their Verdit as finding them guilty of the crime above expressed, either as party, or privy abettors unto them, upon this the Vote goes for advancing such men as will let them out line enough for such as will worke without wages, and give to every man liberty to exercise a large conscience, provided it be his own, and as for authority they would have none used, as being a thing two opposite to liberty. My friend cast off as much of thy owne power as thou canst, and beware of Lording it over Gods Heritage, but I pray thee let Christ alone with his, which he hath given to his Pastors and Teachers in administering the holy things of God, peculiar to their Office, and tremble all you Presbyterians, who to please the people prostrate the authority Christ hath put upon the Elders of his Churches as Officers, to the resolute liberty of man: the people may and ought to call them to Office, to the which Christ hath united double honour and authority, and appointed them to be had in high esteeme for their worke-sake, being Embassadors of *Christ Jesus*. This may no man take from them, nor yet they themselves cast off, and yet all this makes nothing for the Papall, Prelaticall, Classicall or Parishionall authority of the Presbitery, for it holds onely in their ruling well, while they rule for Christ, they must and shall have the power hee hath put upon their Office. From these foure dividing Tenents by the cunning art of these deceivers, were fourescore grosse errors broached secretly, sliding in the darke like the Plague, proving very infectious to some of the Churches of CHRIST in their Members.

Fourescore
Errors derived
from these four
heads, and
spread abroad
in *N. England*.

CHAP. LXII.

Of sad effects of the pitifull and erronious Doctrines broached by the Sectuaries.

THE number of these infectious persons increasing now, having drawn a great party on their side, and some consider-

able persons they grow bold, and dare question the sound and wholesome truths delivered in publick by the Ministers of *Christ*. Their Church-meetings are full of Disputes in points of difference, and their love-Feasts are not free from spots, in their Courts of civill Justice some men utter their Speeches in matters of Religion very ambiguously, and among all sorts of persons a great talke of new light, but verily it proved but old darknesse, such as sometime over-shadowed the City of *Munster*; But blessed be the *Lord Christ*, who now declared himselfe to be a helpe at hand for his poore *New England* Churches, being now in their infancy, whose condition at present was very dolorous, and full of difficulties, insomuch that the better part of this new transported people stood still many of them gazing one upon another, like Sheepe let loose to feed on fresh pasture, being stopped and startled in their course by a Kennell of devouring Wolves. The weaker sort wavered much, and such as were more growne Christians hardly durst discover the truth they held one unto another, the fogs of errour increasing the bright beames of the glorious Gospell of our *Lord Christ* in the Mouth of his Ministers could not be discerned through this thick mist by many, and that sweete refreshing warmth that was formerly felt from the spirits influence, was now turned (in these Erronists) to a hot inflammation of their owne conceited Revelations, ulcerating and bringing little lesse then frenzy or madnesse to the patient, the Congregation of the people of God began to be forsaken, and the weaker Sex prevailed so farre, that they set up a Priest of their own Profession and Sex, who was much thronged after, abominably wresting the Scriptures to their own destruction: this Master-piece of Womens wit, drew many Disciples after her, and to that end boldly insinuated her selfe into the favour of none of the meanest, being also backed with the Sorcery of a second, who had much converse with the Devill by her own confession, and did, to the admiration of those that heard her, utter many speeches in the Latine Tongue, as it were in a trance, this Woman was wonted to give drinckes to other Women to cause them to conceive, how they wrought I know not, but sure there were Monsters borne not long after, as you shall hear in the following History.

Oh yee *New England* Men and Women, who hath bewitched you that you should not obey the truth? And indeed Satan, to make fure worke with semblance of Preaching the Doctrine of Free-gree by his instruments, makes shew of out-bidding all the Orthodox, and godly Ministers in the Countrey, pretending their Preaching to be but a Covenant of workes, supposing by this meanes to silence them without a Bishop, and left the civill power should stand up for their aid, they threaten them with the high displeasure of Christ for persecuting his people, which as they said these erronious persons with their new light, were the onely Men and Women that were pure Gospell Preachers. Thus the poore people of Christ, who kept close to his antient truths invironed with many straites, having expended their Estates to voyage far through the perillous Seas, that their eyes might behold their Teachers, and that they might enjoy the protection of a godly civill Government, began to deeme themselves in a more dolorous condition then when they were in the Commis-faries Court, and Prelates Prisons, the hideous waves in which their brittle Barques were sometimes covered, as they passed hither, were nothing so terrible in the apprehension of some as was this floud of errors violently beating against the bankes of Church and civill Government, the wants of this Wilderneffe, and pinching penury in misse of Bread, put them to no such paine by gnawing on their empty stomacks, with feare of famishing, as did the misse of the Administration of Christ in his Word and Ordinances, leaving the soule in a languishing condition for want of a continuall supply of *Christ* in his Graces.

CHAP. LXIII.

Of the sorrowfull condition of the people of Christ, when they were incountred with these erronists at their first landing.

BUt to end this dismall yeare of fixeene hundred thirty six, take here the sorrowfull complaint of a poore Soule in misse of its expectation at landing, who being incountered with some of these Erronists at his first landing, when he saw that good old way of *Christ* rejected by them, and hee could not skill in that

new light, which was the common theame of every mans Discourse, hee betooke him to a narrow *Indian* path, in which his serious Meditations soone led him, where none but fencelesse Trees and eccohing Rocks make answer to his heart-easeing mone. Oh quoth he where am I become, is this the place where those Reverend Preachers are fled, that *Christ* was pleased to make use of to rouse up his rich graces in many a drooping soule; here I have met with some that tell mee, I must take a naked *Christ*. Oh, woe is mee if *Christ* be naked to mee, wherewith shall I be cloathed, but methinks I most wonder they tell me of casting of all godly sorrow for sin as unbeseeming a Soule, that is united to *Christ* by Faith, and there was a little nimble tongued Woman among them, who said she could bring me acquainted with one of her own Sex that would shew me a way, if I could attaine it, even Revelations, full of such ravishing joy that I should never have cause to be sorry for sinne, so long as I live, and as for her part shee had attained it already: a company of legall Professors, quoth she lie poring on the Law which *Christ* hath abolished, and when you breake it then you breake your joy, and now no way will serve your turne, but a deepe sorrow. These and divers other expressions intimate unto men, that here I shall finde little increase in the Graces of *Christ*, through the hearing of his word Preached, and other of his blessed Ordinances. Oh cunning Devill, the *Lord Christ* rebuke thee, that under pretence of a free and ample Gospell shuts out the Soule from partaking with the Divine Nature of *Christ*, in that mysticall Union of his Blessed Spirit creating, and continuing his Graces in the Soule: my deare *Christ*, it was thy worke that moved me hither to come, hoping to finde thy powerfull presence in the Preaching of the Word, although administred by sorry men, subject to like infirmities with others of Gods people, and also by the glasse of the Law, to have my sinfull corrupt nature discovered daily more and more, and my utter inability of any thing that is good, magnifying hereby the free grace of *Christ*; who of his good will and pleasure worketh in us to will, and to doe working all our works in us, and for us.

But here they tell me of a naked *Christ*, what is the whole life of a Christian upon this Earth? But through the power of
Christ

Christ to die to sinne, and live to holinesse and righteoufnesse, and for that end to be diligent in the use of meanes: at the uttering of this word he starts up from the greene bed of his complaint with resolution to hear some one of these able Ministers Preach (whom report had so valued) before his will should make choyce of any one principle, though of crossing the broad Seas back againe, then turning his face to the Sun, he steered his course toward the next Town, and after some small travell hee came to a large plaine, no sooner was hee entred thereon, but hearing the sound of a Drum he was directed toward it by a broad beaten way, following this rode he demands of the next man he met what the signall of the Drum ment, the reply was made they had as yet no Bell to call men to meeting; and therefore made use of a Drum, who is it, quoth hee, Lectures at this Towne. The other replies, I see you are a stranger, new come over, seeing you know not the man, it is one Mr. *Shepherd*, verily quoth the other you hit the right, I am new come over indeed, and have been told since I came most of your Ministers are legall Preachers, onely if I mistake not they told me this man Preached a finer covenant of workes then the other, but however, I shall make what hast I can to heare him. Fare you well, then hastening thither hee croudeth through the thickest, where having stayed while the glasse was turned up twice, the man was metamorphosed, and was faine to hang down the head often, least his watry eyes should blab abroad the secret conjunction of his affections, his heart crying loud to the Lords echoing answer, to his blessed spirit, that caused the Speech of a poore weake pale complected man to take such impressiion in his soule at present, by applying the word so aptly, as if hee had beene his Privy Counsellor, clearing Christs worke of grace in the soule from all those false Doctrines, which the erronious party had afrighted him withall, and now he resolves (the Lord willing) to live and die with the Ministers of *New England*; whom hee now saw the Lord had not onely made zealous to stand for the truth of his Discipline, but also of the Doctrine, and not to give ground one inch.

CHAP. XLIIII.

*The Congregationall Churches of Christ are neither favourers of
sinfull opinions, nor the Lords over any, or many Churches,
or mens Consciences.*

AND here Christian Reader the Author according to his former practice, must minde thee of the admirable providence of Christ toward his *New England* Churches, in preserving them from these erroneous spirits, that have hitherto in all places dog'd the sincere servants of Christ, when ever they have set upon a through Reformation, as stories doe abundantly testify, which thing the reverend *Calvine* and divers others, have declared. But seeing the boasting Prelates in these times are ready to say their Lordly power kept these errors under, its plaine otherwise: for Satan saw while people were under their yoke of humane inventions, they were far enough from exalting the Kingdome of Christ; And therefore he reserved these errors, for his last shifts, and further you shall see in the following story that the *Lord Christ* reserved this honour for those, whose love hee had enlarged to follow him in a dezart wildernesse, even with the sharpe sword of the Word, timely to cut off the heads of this *Hidra*; but yet there are two sorts of persons in our Native Country, whom the Elders and Brethren here do highly honour in Christ, and prefer before themselves, namely the godly Presbyterian party, and the Congregationall sincere servants of *Christ*, both which the Author could wish, (that with bowells of compassion, sweet sympathizing affection of Brethren knit together in that transcendent love of Christ, which couples all his distanced flockes together) they would seriously ponder this History, which through the Authors weakenesse wants much of measure, but nothing of the truth of things, so far as a shallow capacity can reach. Of the first sort named, I could wish the Reverend Mr. *Rutherford*, Mr. *Bayle*, Mr. *Rathbone*, Mr. *Paget*, Mr. *Ball*, &c. would but informe themselves further by the truth of this History, supposing they cannot chuse but in a good measure be satisfied already with the pacificatory and meeke answers of as many Reverend and godly Elders of ours.

Now

Now that I would they should take notice of is, that the Churches of Christ in *New England*, and their Officers have hitherto been so far from embracing the erroneous Doctrines of these times, that through the powers of Christ they have valiantly defended the truth, and cut down all deceivable Doctrine; the like hath not been done for many ages heretofore. Reverend and beloved in Christ, could your eyes but behold the efficacy of loving counsell in the Communion of congregational Churches, and the reverend respect, honour and love, given to all Teaching Elders, charity commands me to thinke you would never stand for Classicall injunctions any more, neither Diocesane, nor Provinciall authority can possible reach so far as this royall Law of love in communion of Churches: verily its more universall then the Papall power, and assuredly the dayes are at hand, wherein both *Jew* and *Gentile* Churches shall exercise this old Modell of Church Government, and send their Church salutations and admonitions from one end of the World unto another, when the Kingdomes of the Earth are become our *Lord Christs*; Then shall the exhortation of one Church to another prevaile more to Reformation, then all the thundering Bulls, excommunicating Lordly censures, and shamefull penalties of all the Lording Churches in the World, and such shall be, and is the efficacy of this intire love one to another, that the withdrawing of any one Church of *Christ*, according to the Rule of the word from those that walke inordinatly, will be more terrible to the Church or Churches so forsaken, then an Army with Banners: yea, and it may be added, because civill Government is like to turne nurse in more places then one, this royall Law of love shall become the Law of Nations, and none will suffer their subjects to rebell against it; but to our beloved brethren in *England* on the other hand, the Reverend Mr. *Burroughs*, Mr. *Goodwin* &c.

This seemeth you have apprehended our Churches and civill Government, to be too strict in dealing with persons for their sinfull opinions, I wish the offenders be none of your intelligencers, who to be sure will make the worst of things, I know you are in charity with us; And therefore a few words will satisfie, which I hope you want not from your good friends our Reverend Elders, who could wish you as much happinesse as our selves

to expell error before it grew to that height to cry downe the found and wholesome truths: casting durt on our Orthodox and godly Ministry, I wish you open your mouths wide enough to be filled with this blessing, the Lord hath done great, and unexpected things for you, and why not this? one and twenty yeares experience hath taught us that Errors and Heresies are not broached, and held out here by tender consciences, such as are weak in the Faith, but by such as think them Scholers of the upper forme, such as would teach the most ablest Christian among us another Gospell, and further we finde our Erronist wanting a common enemy to contend withall, as you have fallen foule of our godly Magistrates and Ministers, and will not suffer us quietly to enjoy the Ordinance of *Christ*, for which wee hither came, buzzing our people in the eare with a thing they call liberty, which when any have tasted a smack of, they can no more indure to hear of a Synod or gathering together of able, and Orthodox Christians, nor yet of communion of Churches, but would be independant to purpose, and as for civill Government they deem Religion to be a thing beyond their Sphere.

 CHAP. XLV.

Of the civill Government in N. England, and their nurture of the people upon their tender knees.

THE vernall of the yeare 1637. being now in his prime, and as the season of the yeare grew hotter, so the minds of many were hot in the eager pursuite of their selfe conceited opinions, and verily had not authority stept in, it was much to be doubted they would have proceeded from words to blowes, great hold and keepe there was about choice of Magistrates this yeare, the choyce being retarded by a paper call'd a Petition, but indeed a meere device to hinder the election, till the erroneous party were strengthened, their number increasing daily, but the Lord *Christ* gratioussly providing for the peace of his people toward the end of the day the honoured *John Winthrope* Esquire, was chosen Governour, and *Thomas Dudley* Esq. Deputy Governour: the number of free-men added this year was about. 125.

Here

Here according to promise the Reader shall have an account of the civill Government of this little Common-wealth, as their whole aime in their removall from their Native Country, was to enjoy the liberties of the Gospell of *Christ*, so in serving up civill Government, they daily direct their choice to make use of such men as mostly endeavour to keepe the truths of *Christ* pure and unspotted, and assuredly they can digest any wrongs or injuries done them in their estates, or trade, better then the wresting of their right in the freedome of the Gospell, out of their hands, and this the Erronist knowing right well (to save their heads whole) perswade men it is not for civill Government to meddle with matters of Religion; and also to helpe out with their damnable Doctrines, they report it in all places, where they be come, that *New England* Government doth persecute the people and Churches of *Christ*; which to speake truth they have hitherto bene so far from, that they have endeavoured to expell all such beasts of prey, (who will not be reclaimed) that here might be none left to hurt or destroy in all Gods holy Mountaine, and therefore are ready to put the Churches of *Christ* in minde of their duty herein; yea, and sometimes going before them in their civill censures that they may not onely professe the truth, but also hate every false way, not that they would compell men to believe by the power of the Sword, but to endeavour all may answer their profession; whether in Courch Covenant or otherwise, by knowing they bare not the Sword in vaine. Neither doe they exercise civill power to bring all under their obedience to a uniformity in every poynt of Religion, but to keepe them in the unity of the spirit, and the bond of peace, nor yet have they ever mixed their civill powers with the authority peculiarly given by *Christ* to his Churches and Officers of them, but from time to time have laboured to uphold their priviledges, and only communion one with another.

The chiefe Court or supream power of this little Common-wealth, consists of a mixt company, part Aristocracy, and part Democracy of Magistrates, that are yearly chosen by the major Vote of the whole body of the Free-men throughout the Country; and Deputies chosen by the severall Townes, they have hitherto had about 12. or 13. Magistrates in the Colony

of the *Mattacusets*, the other Colonies have not above five or six, they have hitherto beene Volunteers, governing without pay from the people, onely the Governor of the *Mattacusets* hath some yeares 100 l. allowed him, and some years lesse, many of the Magistrates are already remembred, yet with some of the first came hither Mr. *Simon Brodestreet*, in this short Meeter is he remembred.

*N*OW Simon yong, step in among, these worthies take thy place:
 All day to toile in vinyard, while Christ thee upholds with grace;
 Thee wisdom grave betime he gave, and tongue to utter it,
 That thou mightst be a blessing free, and for this calling fit.
 Thy counsell well, advis'd dost tell, with words ordered compleat,
 Thy memory, doth amplifie, meeting with matters great.
 Broad liberty, do thou deny, Brodstreet Christ would thee have,
 For's truth contend, strong reason spend, it from aspersion save.
 He furnish't thee, with these gifts free, to last he must them make,
 Still adding more, to thy old store, till he thee to him take.

The Lord was pleased to furnish these his people with some able instruments in most of their Townes, that were skill'd in Common-wealth work, out of which they chose their Deputies, whose number was ordinarily between 30. and 40. some of them there will be occasion to speake of among their Military Men, but see here the *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour*, appears much in gathering together stones to build up the walls of *Jerusalem* (that his *Sion* may be surrounded with Bulworkes and Towres) with a whispering word in the eares of his servants, he crosses the Angles of *England* from *Cornewall* to *Kent*, from *Dover* to *Barwick*, not leaving out *Scotland* and *Wales*; Wise men are perswaded to the worke without arguing like *Elisha*, when *Elias* cast his mantle on him, so these men make no stop, but say suffer me onely to sell my inheritance, and I will away for *New England*. And now I could wish our Brethren in *England* would not be angry with us for making such hast. Brethren you know how the case stood with our Ministers, as it was with *Gideon*, who could thresh out no Corne, but hee must doe it secretly to hide it from the *Midianites*, who spread the Land like

like Grasshoppers, no more could they thresh and cleane up any Wheate for the Lords Garner, but the Prelates would presently be upon their backs, and plow long furrowes there, and you may believe it, if you will (for it is certaine) many, had not this little number gone forth to blow their Trumpets, and breake their Pitchers, making the brightnesse of their Lamps appeare, surely the host of the *Midianites* had never been put to flight, and if still any of our Brethren shall contend with us, wee answer with *Gideon*, the Lord hath delivered into your hands the chiefe Princes of *Midian*, and what were we able to do in comparison of you; yet shall we not cease to follow on the worke of Reformation, although weake and faint, till the Lord be pleased to free his *Israel* from all their enemies; and verily *England* hath not wanted the Prayers of the poore people of *Christ* here. And also some of our chiefe helps both for Church-worke, Military and common-wealth-worke; yet through the Lords mercy, we still retaine among our Democracy the godly Captaine *William Hathorn*, whom the Lord hath indued with a quick apprehension, strong memory, and rhetorick, volubillity of speech, which hath caused the people to make use of him often in publick service, especially when they have had to do with any forreign Government, Mr. *Nathaniel Duncan* learned in the Latine and French tongue, a very good accountant. Wherefore he is called to the place of Auditor Generall for the County. Mr. *John Glover* a man strong for the truth, a plaine sincere godly man, and of good abilities. Captaine *Daniel Gogkin*, who was drawn hither from *Virginia*, by having his affection strongly fet on the truths of *Christ*, and his pure Ordinances; being indued by the Lord with good understanding Captaine *William Tinge*, sometime Treasurour for the County, but being absent for some space of time in *England*, Mr. *Richard Russell* was chosen in his roome, Mr. *Edward Rawson* a young man, yet employed in Commonwealth affaires a long time, being well beloved of the inhabitants of *Newbery*, having had a large hand in her Foundation; but of late he being of a ripe capacity, a good yeoman and eloquent inditer, hath bene chosen Secretary for the Country, Mr. *William Hubbard* of *Iphschwich*, a learned man, being well read in state matters: of a very affable and humble behaviour;

who hath expended much of his Estate to helpe on this worke; although he be flow of speech, yet is hee down right for the bu-
 fineffe, Captaine *Vmphry Atherton*, one of a cheerfull spirit, and
 intire for the County, Mr. *Edward Jackson*, one who cannot indure
 to see the truths of Christ trampled under foot by the erroneous
 party, *Eleazar Lusher* one of the right stamp, and pure mettle, a
 gracious, humble and heavenly minded man Mr. *Joseph Hill*, a
 man active for to bring the Lawes of the County in order,
 Mr. *Whipple*, one whose godly sincerity is much approved,
 Mr. *Francis Norton*, one of a cheerfull spirit, and full of love to
 the truth, Mr. *Robert Paine*, a right godly man, and one whose
 estate hath holpe on well with the worke of this little Common-
 wealth, Mr. *William Torry* a good penman and skild in the Latine
 tongue, usually Clarke of the Deputies, the Survayor Gnerall
 of the Armies of the Country, *John Johnson*, of an undanted spi-
 rit, Mr. *William Parker*, a man of a pregnant understanding, and
 very usefull in his place. Many more would be named, but for
 tediousnesse, neither will it please the men more to be named,
 then not, for all are very willing to acknowledge their in-
 ability for the worke, and the best are not without many imper-
 fections.

The Authors end in naming some few is for none other end, but
 to make good the title of this Book & to incourage all the servants
 of *Christ* for time to come, wholly to rely upon him, when they
 go about any difficult work, which may tend to the glory of his
 Name. Who could have told these men, being scattered abroad
 throughout the Island of Great *Brittaine*, they should meete on a
 Wilder nesse nine hundred Leagues remote, and there keep Court
 together to study the preservation of *Christs* poore scattered
 flockes? nay brethren, when you first tooke book in hand to
 learne your Letters, you would have been very dull pates, but
 for this worke; assuredly, how you came by large inheritances,
 some of you, and estates of hundreds, and thousands, your selves
 best know, but believe it, the Lord intended it for this very work,
The Earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse of it, then let none of the
 people of *Christ* mourn that they have spent their wealth in this
 Wilder nesse, if it have holpe on the worke, rather rejoyce that
Christ hath betru sted thee to be Steward for the King of Kings, &
 that

that in so noble an achievement the worthiest worke that the memory of our selves, and our fore-fathers can reach unto.

And brethren, as for the good parts and gifts the Author hath commended you for, but for the edifying of the body of *Christ*, and assisting his people in this work, you had been empty of all good.

And now seeing it is the opinion of many in these dayes of Reformation, that all sorts of Sectaries (that acknowledge a *Christ*) should be tolerated by civill Government, except Papist, and this Government hath hitherto, and is for future time resolved to practice otherwise (the Lord assisting) having met already with more blasphemous Sectaries, then are Papists; wherefore it will not be amisse if our Countrymen be acquainted with the one and twenty yeares experience of this Wildernesse worke, in point of Government. First, it is their judgment, and that from Scripture taught them, that those, who are chose to place of government, must be men truly fearing God, wise and learned in the truths of *Christ*, (if so) as hitherto it hath been *New Englands* practice, then surely such will be utterly unfit to tolerate all sorts of Sectaries, as because they have taken up *Joshuas* resolution, to serve the Lord & a man cannot serve two Masters, much lesse many Masters; Then surely such as would have all sorts of sinfull opinions upheld by the civill government, must be fure to make choise of the most *Atheisticall* persons they can finde to governe, such as are right *Gallios*: for *N. E.* hath found by experience that every man will most favour his own way of Profession, and labor tooth & naile to maintaine it, and if any have complied with other that have been of a contrary sinfull opinion to their own, it hath been, because they would have their own scape scot free, but assuredly the *Lord Christ* will allow of no such wayes for the favouring the professors of his truths, nor may any Magistrate doe evill that good may come of it, in favouring dangerous and deceivable doctrines, that others may favour the true servants of *Christ*, neither is there any such need, for it is their honours (if the will of God be so) to suffer, nor can the people of *N. England* (I meane the better part) be perswaded to set up any other to governe, but such are zealous for the maintainance of the truths of *Christ*; yet of late there is a buzzing noise, as if it were injury to the Churches for civill power to medle in matters of Religion, but to
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be fure there are many that strive for a Toleration, yet the people of *Christ*, who are the naturall Mothers of this Government, resolve never to see their living child so divided, looking at such a government to be no better to them, a living child divided in twaine; and therefore desires their loving Countrymen to beare with them in this point, and if any notwithstanding shall force it to be so, we shall shew our natural affection, and leave all to them, chusing rather to dwell on the backside of this Desert (a place as yet unaccessible) knowing assuredly our God will appeare for our deliverance. Yet let them also know the Souldiers of *Christ* in *N E.* are not of such a pusillanimous spirit, but resolve as that valiant *Jeptha* did to keep in possession, the Towns his God had given them, so we are resolved (the Lord willing) to keepe the government our God hath given us, and for witnesse hee hath so done, let this History manifest: for we chose not the place for the Land, but for the government, that our *Lord Christ* might raigne over us, both in Churches and Common-wealth, and although the Lord have been pleased by an extraordinary blessing upon his peoples industry to make the place fruitfull (as at this day indeed it is) yet all may know the land in it selfe is very ster-rill, but the upholding of the truths of *Christ*, is chiefe cause why many have hitherto come: and further if the servants of *Christ* be not much mistaken, the downfall of *Antichrist* is at hand, and then the Kingdome of the Earth shall become the Kingdome of our *Lord Christ* in a more peculiar manner, then now they are, and surely godly civill government shall have a great share in that worke, for they are exhorted to fill her double of the Cup, shee hath given to them; and also know our Magistrates, being conscious of ruling for *Christ*, dare not admit of any bastardly brood to be nurst up upon their tender knees, neither will any Christian of a sound judgement vote for any, but such as earnestly contend for the Faith, although the increase of Trade, and traffique may be a great inducement to some.

THE



WVonder-working PROVIDENCE
 OF
 SIONS SAVIOUR,
 IN
 NEVV ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

The beginning of the relation of the Pequot war, and the great straites these wandering Jacobites were in.

THE great *Jehovah*, minding to manifest the multitude of his Mercies to the wandering *Jacobites*, and make an introduction to his following wonders, causeth the darke clouds of calamities to gather about them, presaging some terrible tempest to follow, with eyes full of anguish, they face to the right, upon the damnable Doctrines, as so many dreadfull Engines set by Satan to intrap their poore soules; Then casting forth a left hand looke, the labour and wants accompaning a Desert, and terrible Wilderneffe affright them, their memories minding them of their former plenty; It much aggravated the present misery, when with thoughts of retreating, they turne their backs about the experienced incumbrances, and deepe distresses of a dangerous Ocean hinders their thoughts of flight, besides the sterne looke of the Lordly Prelates: which would give them a welcome home in a famishing prison. Then purposing to put on more stronger resolution, facing to the Front, behold a Messenger with sorrowfull tidings from their fellow brethren, that in-
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habited the bankes of the River *Canectico*, who having audience, informes them of the great infolency, and cruell murders committed by a barbarous and bloody people called *Peaquods*, upon the bodies of their indeared friends, these savage *Indians* lying to the South-west of the *Mattacusets*, were more warlike then their Neighbouring Nations, the *Narrowganzet* or *Niantick Indians*; although they exceeded them in number, also *Mawhiggins* (who were the best friends of the *English*, and a chiefe instrumentall meanes of their fitting down there) stood much in feare of these *Peaquods*, which were big, swollen with pride at this time; facing the *English* Fort built on the mouth of the River in their large *Cannowes*, with their Bowes and long Shafts, the *English* being then but weake in number and provision, were unable to manage the war against so numerous a company, being above thirty to one, yet their desires being beyond their meanes, they made some shot at them, forcing them to hast away faster then they willingly would. These *Indians* trusting in their great Troopes, having feasted their corps in a ravening manner, and leaving their fragments for their *Sqawes*, they found an alarum with a full mouth, and lumbring voyce, and soone gather together without presse or pay, their quarrell being as antient as *Adams* time, propagated from that old enmity betweene the Seede of the Woman, and the Seed of the Serpent, who was the grand signor of this war in hand, and would very gladly have given them a large Commiffion, had not his owne power beene limited, neither could he animate them so much as to take off the gasty looke of that King of terror, yet however at his command they arme themselves: casting their quiver at their backs with Bowes ready bent, they troope up some of them, being extraordinarily armed with Guns, which they purchast from the *Dutch* (who had assuredly paid deare for this their courteous humour, not long since, had not some *English* Volunteers rescued them from the *Indians* hands) the most of them were armed also with a small Hatchet on a long handle, they had a small number of *Mawhawkes*, Hammers, which are made of stone, having a long pike on the one side, and a hole in the handle, which they tie about their wrists, they neede not provisions follow their Camp; because they are continually at home, but for their mats
to

to shelter them from Raine or Snow, the Woods are as well-come to them as their *Wigwams*, fire they can make in all places by chafing two flicks together. Their food is ready drest at all times, parching Indian Corne in their fire they pound it to meale, and with foure or five spoonfull of it cast into their mouths, and a sup or two of water, which they take up with a leafe of a Tree, this is their common repaft, and indeed their chiefe *viaticum*. Thus furnisht for the war they troope away without any goodly equipage to effect, as they suppose, some great designe, but within some few Miles of the Towne of *Hartford*, they were discovered by one of the *English*, who having with him a good Horfe, hastens away to give intelligence of their approach, and by the way meeting with foure or five persons, hee advifes them to haste away with all speed, for the *Peaquods* were at hand, the weaker Sex among them, being at this time not so credulous as they should have been, began to dispute the case with him, demanding what *Peaquods* they were, and questioning how they should come there; The horsfeman deeming it now no time for words, when the battell followed him so hard at the heeles, rod on his way, and soone after the sudder approach of the *Indians* forced them with feare to Seale to the truth of this evill tidings, and some of them with their dearest blood; three Woemen-kinde they caught, and carried away, but one of them being more fearfull of their cruell usage, afterward then of the losse of her life at present, being borne away to the thickest of the company, resisted so stoutly with scratching and biting, that the *Indian*, exasperated therewith, cast her downe on the Earth, and beate out her braines with his Hatchet, the other two maids they led away and returned, their Commission reaching no farther at present, having taken these two prifoners they did not offer to abuse their persons, as was verily deemed they would, questioned them with such broken *English*, as some of them could speak, to know whether they could make Gunpowder. Which when they understood they could not doe, their prize proved nothing so pretious a Pearle in their eyes as before; for seeing they exceeded not their own *Squawes* in Art, their owne thoughts informed them they would fall abundantly short in industry, and as for beauty they esteeme black beyond any colour.

Wherefore their *Sqawes* use that sinfull art of painting their Faces in the hollow of their Eyes and Nose, with a shining black, out of which their tip of their Nose appeares very deformed, and their cheeke bone, being of a lighter swart black, on which they have a blew croffe dyed very deepe.

This is the beauty esteemed by them, but yet their pride was much increased by this hostile Act of theirs, and the *English* were more and more contemned of them, notwithstanding the *Dutch*, who traded with these *Indians*, procured the *Maides* liberty againe.

CHAP. II.

Of the couragious resolutions, the Lord indued these his People withall being invironed with many deepe distresses.

AFter this Message delivered, these brood of Travilers being almost *Non-plus't* in their grave and follid Counsell; deem it now high time to follow their old way, of making their complaint to the supream judge of all the World, by way of Petition, who they knew right well, stood not as an idle spectator beholding his peoples Ruth, and their Enemies rage; But as an Actor in all actions to bring to naught the desires of the wicked, but period to their power, divert their stroaks from his, to their own heads, bring glory to his Name, and good to his people from their most wicked malignity, having also the ordering of every weapon in its first produce, guiding every shaft that flies, leading each bullet to his place of setting, and Weapon to the wound it makes; yet he most righteous and holy in all his actions to this great Lord Paramount, had these poore afflicted people accesse through the intercession of their *Lord Christ*, whose worke (though very weake to performe) they were now about, wherefore casting themselves down at his feet in the sense of their owne unworthinesse, that desire him to doe his owne worke in them, and for them, that the Mountaines in the way of *Zerubbabel* may become a plaine, and then laying open the great straites they were in to him, who knew them far better then themselves, they had this answer returned them, which if men dare deny, the Lord from
Heaven

Heaven hath, and shall further witness it; But before it be declared, let all men lay downe their interest they suppose they may have in procuring it, both *English* and others, that the glory of our *Lord Christ* may appear in its splendor, to the danting of every proud heart, and for the perpetuall encouragement of all the Souldiers of *Christ*, even the meanest in his Armies: for the day of his high Power is come, yea; his appointed time to have mercy upon *Sion* is at hand, all you whose eyes of pity so see her in the dust, streame down with pear like drops of compassion, a little mixture of the unconceivable joy for the glorious worke of *Christ*.

Now, now; I now in hand for the exalting of his glorious Kingdome, in preparing his Churches for himselfe, and with his own blessed hands wiping away the teares that trickel downe her cheekes, drying her dankish eyes, and hushing her sorrowfull sobs in his sweete bosome. This rightly believed, and meeting in the soule of any poore Christian, will make the narrow affections of his body too little to containe the present apprehensions of the Soule; And therefore wanting a *vacuum* to containe the strength of this new Wine, wonder not if it vent it selfe with swift thrilling teares from the most tender part of the vessell. And here the Author must needs intreate the charitable Reader to enlarge in the Cloffet of his own heart, for his folly hee confesses in meddling so meanly with such waighty matters, being blinded by eager affection, hee lost the sight of his great inabilityty to the worke. When hee first set Pen to Paper, as the Lord surrounded his chosen *Israel* with dangers deepe to make his miraculous deliverance famous throughout, and to the end of the World, so here behold the *Lord Christ*, having egged a small handfull of his people forth in a forlorne Wildernesse, stripping them naked from all humane helps, plunging them in a gulph of miseries, that they may swim for their lives through the Ocean of his Mercies, and land themselves safe in the armes of his compassion.

CHAP. III.

Of the Lords great deliverance of his New England People, from the floods of Errors that were bursting in among them.

AS for the great Mountaine of proud erroneous judgement on your right hand, the prayer of Faith shall remove them, and cast them into the depth of the Sea, and for the strengthening of your faith herein; because the Lord will have you depend on him in the use of his meanes, not miracle, hee hath purposely pitcht out for this very worke, some of his most orthodox servants, and chiefe Champions of his truth, able through his mercy to weld that bright Weapon of his Word prepared by the spirit for this purpose, to bring to the block these Traytours to his truths one by one, and behead them before your eyes, and for this very end they are to gather together as one Man in a Synodicall way, with a decisive power to undoe all the cunning twisted knots of Satans Malignity to the truths of *Christ*, opening the Scriptures by the power of his spirit, cleering Scripture by Scripture, that nothing but the pure Word of God may take place, and that you may assuredly believe the Lord hath purposely called his Servants, and Souldiers to this place by his Providence to cut off this cursed spirit of Errours and Heresies, which hath but at first dog'd all Reformed Churches of *Christ*. There are for your further aid herein many more of these sincere Souldiers floating upon the great Ocean toward you, who will be with you before this Synod is set, that you may declare it in the Eares of all posterity, to be the very Finger of God in catching the proud in their owne craftinesse, who had hatch't their devices, thus to cast all the Ministers of *Christ*, except some one or two, under this censure of being prejudiced against their persons, and for the little remnant to labour with flattery to blinde their eyes, that at least they might not be against them; Seeing they could not procure them to take their part, (to be sure when the grossenesse of their Errors were made known, they would not) by this meanes having their hopes exalted (in their owne apprehensions at least) to gaine the most of the people on their side.

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The Lord casts them downe from the proud Pinacle of their Machiavilian Plot, by bringing in more men of courage uninterested: yea, unknown to most of their persons, but for their errors, as strong to confute them as any, and more fit to wipe off the filme from the eyes of some of their brethren, which these Erro-nists by their Sycophancy had clouded.

The time for the meeting of this Synod was to be in the seventh month following, commonly called *September*, the civill government well approving of their desires herein, were very willing to further them all they could, and in the meane time it was the worke of these valiant of the Lord, to search out, not for men and Womens persons, but their errors, which they gathered up from all parts, willing all that would or could defend them to use their best meanes, like as *Jehu* when he was to execute the judgements of the Lord upon *Ahabs* bloody household, would have had his servants defend their Masters Children if they could, onely you must understand there was but 70. Sons, and here was 80. *Errors*, of which you shall further hear when the time comes.

CHAP. IV.

Of the abundant mercies of Christ in providing liberall supply for his New England People, in regard of their outward man, Food, Rayment and all other necessaries and conveniencies.

Now for the hardships on the left hand, they had as good an answer as in the former; their *Christ* had not saved their lives from the raging Seas to slay them in the Wildernesse with Famine; your life is much more pretious in the eyes of the Lord then food, and your bodies then rayment: yea, the Lord of Heaven, who hath honoured you so far as to imploy you in this glorious worke of his, knowes you must have these things, and it was not you, deare hearts, that chose this place, but the Lord, as seeing it most fit to doe his worke in, knowing that had you met with a Rich Land filled with all plenty, your heart would have

have beene taken off this worke, which he must have done. But to strengthen your Faith in this point also, you shall see hee who commanded the Fruits to spring out of the Earth, when none were, can much more cause this corner of the Earth to be fruitfull to you, and this you shall attaine by meanes, although hee have caused the Foules of the Aire, and Grasse of the Field to depend upon him in a more immediate manner, yet you hath he taught to Sow, Reape, carry into Barnes, and Spin, and indeed herein the Lord hath answered his people abundantly to the wonder of all that see or hear of it; And that whereas at their first comming it was a rare matter for a man to have foure or five Acres of Corne, now many have four or five score, & to prevent men from Sacrificing to their Nets, the Lord hath taught them to labour with more ease: to great admiration also inlarg'd it, for it was with sore labour that on man could Plant, and tend foure Acres of *Indians* Graine, and now with two Oxen hee can Plant and tend 30. Besides the Lord hath of late altered the very course of the Heavens in the season of the weather, that all kinde of graine growes much better then heretofore; Inso-much that Marchandizing being stopped at present, they begin question what to do with their Corne.

 CHAP. V.

Of the wonderfull deliverance wrought by the Lord Christ, for his poore New England Churches, in freeing them from the fear of their Malignant adversaries, who forc't, them to this Wisdernesse.

AND now to the third and great distresse, which lay behind them by reason of their back friends, the Lording Bishops, and other Malignant adversaries, being daily exasperated against them, and in especiall at this time by one *Morton*, who named himselfe the Host of *Merrimount*, who wanted not malice, could he possible have attained meanes to effect it; But the *Lord Christ* prevented both him and his Masters, whom with flattery he sought to please with scurrillous deriding the servants of *Christ*, to bring them into contempt, yet the Lord prevented all

all, and delivered this wretched fellow into his peoples hands againe after all this, who dealt as favourably with him as *David* did with *Shimmei*. Besides this, the evill usage that many of the beloved servants of Christ had from the hands of those in office at their departure, declared plainely, that there were some, who would willingly have pursued them to bring them under bondage againe, herein their answer was that they should stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, who was now resolved to fight for them against his and their implacable enemies; although more mighty than they: and indeed all meanes of resistance in the hand of man being so small, that it could not possible bee discerned by any mortall eye; yet will the Lord worke by means and not by miracle; when the Lord called forth *Joshua* to fight with *Amaleck*, his *Moses* must be in the Mount at Prayers; seeing this answer deeply concernes the dearly beloved of our *Lord Christ* remaining in *England*, let them listen to the answer.

Also how came it to passe that the Lord put it into your hearts to set upon a Reformation, was it not by prayer attained? You are not excluded, although the Churches of Christ here are for the present in the Mount, and you in the Vally fighting, yet surely they had neede of helpe to hold up their hands, whereas the nere nesse of the danger to you in the enemies overcoming, is a great motive to keepe up yours stedy, yet may you say rightly to the Churches of Christ here, as *Mordachy* to *Hester* the Queene, if you hold your peace deliverance shall come another way, and thinke not to escape, because you are in *New England*; Assuredly the Lord is doing great things, and waites for the prayers of his people that he may be gracious unto them, and verily the poore Churches of Christ heere cannot but take notice of the great workes the Lord hath done for you of late, which are famous throughout the whole World; And should they not take them as an answer of these weake prayers, they feare they should neglect to magnify his mercy toward you, and them: the noble acts of the Lord Christ, for the freedome of his people from that intolerable Prelaticall bondage, are almost miraculously committed to memory by the able servants of Christ, whom hee hath stirred up for that very end, yet must you not shut out the valiant souldiers of Christ (disciplin'd in this unwonted Wilder-

neffe) from having share with you in the worke, yet no farther but that Christ may be all in all: who hath caused the *Midianites* to fight against *Midian*, till the true *Israelites* had gathered themselves together, hee it is that hath brought the counsellors of the wicked to naught, hee it is that hath discovered the secret plottings of the King of *Affyria*, even in his Bed-chamber; Hee it is that hath declared himself to be with your mighty men of valour, and assuredly all you valiant Souldiers of Christ, both in one *England* and the other, the Lord hath shewed you as great signes and wonders for the strengthening of your faith, as was the wetting and drying of the fleece to *Gedeon*, onely beware of setting up an *Ephod* in the latter end; Let the Churches of Christ be set up according to his first institution, or you will make double worke, for all may see by what is done already, there is nothing too hard for him, hee will downe with all againe and againe, till his Kingdom alone be exalted, for the which all the *Israel* of God fight, wrastle, pray, and here you may see the servants of Christ fighting at 900 leagues distant.

Oh you proud Bishops, that would have all the World stoope to your Lordly power, the heathen Romans your predecessors, after they had banished *John* to the Isle of *Pathmos*, suffered him quietly to enjoy the Revelation of *Iesus Christ* there; here is a people that have betaken themselves to a newfound World, distanced from you with the widest Ocean the World affords, and yet you grudge them the purity of Christs Ordinances there. No wonder then, nay wonder all the World at the sudden and unexpected downfall of these domineering Lords, who had Princes to protect them, armes to defend them, and almost three whole Kingdomes at their command; and no enemy of theirs in fight onely, there appears a little cloud about the bignesse of a mans hand out of the *Westerne* Ocean, I but the *Lord Christ* is in it, out of *Sion* the perfection of beauty hath God shined. Our God shall come, and shall not keepe silence, a Fire shall devour afore him, & mighty tempests shall be moved round about him. Now gather together you King-like Bishops, and make use of all the Kingly power you can, for the cloud is suddenly come up, hee rode upon Cherub and did flie. And now let the Children of *Sion* rejoyce in their King, for the Lord hath pleasure in his people

people, hee will make the meeke glorious by deliverance; And that the whole Earth may know it is the Lords owne worke, the Arch-prelate and his complices must begin to war with the *Scots*, and that implacably, the Prelates desire a *Parliament* thinking to establish iniquity by a Law, but the iniquity of the *Anno-rites* is already full, and all your cunning counsellors shall but contrive your owne destruction; They remonstrant against all Acts of *Parliament* that passe without their Vote, and by this means wind out themselves for ever voting more, they devise how they may have such persons committed to prison as favour not their proceeding.

But the Lord turned their mischiefe they had conceived upon their own pates, and they themselves were sent to prison by halfe a score at a time; And such was the unfavourynesse of this seeming salt, that it was good for nothing, but to Lord it over others, their tyranny being taken out of their hands, they could not indure to be commanded by any; And therefore unfit for the war which they stirred up, to recover the people againe under their bondage, yet such was the madnesse of some, that they loved their servitude so well as to fight for it; but surely such had never rightly knowne the service of the *Lord Christ*, which is perfect freedome, from all such tyrannous yoaks, and verily just it is with the Lord to cause such to be servants unto *Shishak*, that they may know the service of the Lord, and the service of the Kingdomes of the Country. But however an Army is raised to defend their Lordly dignity; Let the Saints be joyfull with glory, let the high Acts of God be in their mouths, and a two edged Sword in their hands, to bind their Kings in chains, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron, the Charets of the Lord are twenty thousand thousands of Angells, the Lord is among them as in *Sinai*, Kings of Armies did flee apace; and now you that have borne such a wicked spirit of malignity against the people of Christ, can your hearts indure, and your hands wax strong in the day that he shall have to doe with you? Oh you proud Prelates that boast so much of your taking the Kings part, miserable partakers are you; in stead of obeying him, you have caused him to obey you, its writ in such great capitall letters that a child may read it: what was the cause of the first raising war against

the *Scots* which occasioned the *Parliament*, when you saw they would not further the war as you would have them, they were foone traytors in your account, and profecuted against with Army after army, and was not all this to make the Scots receive your Injunctions, a very fayer bottom to build a bloody war upon, that the Prelaticall power might Lord it in *Scotland*, as they of a long time had done in *England*: it was your *Pithagorian* Philosophy that caused the King to loofe his Life, by perfwading him his Kingly power lived in your Lordly dignity, as a thing subordinate unto it, and he fo deeply taken with this conceit, that it cost the lives of many thousands more then ever hee, or his Father would doe for faving or recovering the Pallatine Country.

Experience hath taught the savage *Indians*, among whom we live, that they may and doe daily bring Wolves to be tame, but they cannot breake them of their ravening nature, and I would your Royalist would learne of them to know, that as your Lord Bifhops, Deanes, Prebends, &c. be right whelps of the *Roman* litter, fo let them be never fo well tam'd, they will retaine their nature still, to Lord it over all kinde of Civill Government; But woe and alasse that ever any of our Countrymen fhould be fo blind, that after they are delivered from fo great a bondage by fuch *Wonder working Providence of the Lord Christ*; Ever and anon to indeavour to make a Captaine over them, that they may returne againe into *Egypt*, as appears by the plots which have beene difcovered, and broken in pieces by the right hand of the most high, and, yet for all this their's fuch a hankering after somewhat of the Prelaticall greatnesse; by the *English* Clergy, and the *Scottish* Claffis, that many of them could afford to raife another war for it. But brethren I beseech you be more wifer, left when you are growne hot in your quarrell, the Malignant party come and fet you agreed, stabliff peace in righteoufnesse, and let the word be your rule, heare one another with meekenesse, and the Lord will cleare up the whole truth unto you in his due time; And now to declare plainly how far the Lord hath beene pleased to make use of any of his people in these *Westerne* parts, about this Worke, for to say truth they have done nothing in holes and corners, but their workes are obvious to all the World: if
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the sufferings of the Saints be pretious in the eyes of Christ, so as to provoke him in displeasure to cut off the occasioners thereof, then thus his poore unworthy people here have had a great stroake in the downfall of their aduersaries to the present possessed truths of Christ, for this wilderneffe worke, hath not bene carried on without fighthings that have come before him, and Groanes that have entred his eares, and Teares treasured up in his bottles (againe) if the ardent and strong affections of the people of God, for his glorious comming to advance his Kingdome in the splendor, and purity of his Gospell, as to cry with the holy Prophet, *Oh that he would breake the Heavens and come down*; be regarded of the *Lord Christ*, so as to remove with his mighty power the very Mountaines out of the way, and hurle them into the deepe; Then hath these weake wormes instrumentally had a share in the great desolation the *Lord Christ* hath wrought. For this History will plainely declare with what zeale and deepe affection, and unresistable resolutions these Pilgrim people have endeavoured the gathering together his Saints, for the edifying the Body of Christ, that he may raign both Lord and King for ever.

Yet againe, if the prayers of the faithfull people of God availe any thing for the accomplishment of his promises, in the destruction of Antichrist, for the subduing of Armies without striking one stroake; Then assuredly these *Jacobites* have wrestled with the Lord, not onely (with that good King *Jekoshaphat*) proclaiming one Fast, but many Fasts, they, their Wives and little ones standing before the Lord; Oh our God wilt thou not judge them for we have no might, &c. Lastly, if the Lord himselfe have roared from *Sion*, (as in the dayes of the Prophet *Amos*) so from his Churches in *New England*, by a great and terrible Earthquake (which happened much about the time the Lordly Prelates were preparing their injunctions for *Scotland*) taking rife from the West, it made its progresse to the Eastward, causing the Earth to rife up and downe like the waves of the Sea; having the same effect on the Sea also, causing the Ships that lay in the Harbor to quake, the which, at that very time was said to be a signe from the Lord to his Churches, that he was purposed to shake the Kingdomes of *Europes* Earth, and now by his pro-

vidences brought to passe, all men may reade as much and more: as if he should have said to these his scattered people (yet now againe united in Church Covenant) the Lord is now gathering together his Armies, and that your faith may be strengthened, you shall feele and heare the shakings of the Earth by the might of his power: yea, the Sea also, to shew he will ordaine Armies both by Sea and Land to make *Babylon* desolate; Things thus concurring as an immediate answer of the Lord to his peoples prayers and endeavours, caused some of this little handfull with resolute courage and boldnesse to returne againe to their native Land, that they might (the Lord accepting and assisting them in their endeavours) be helpfull in advancing the Kingdome of Christ, and casting down every strong house of sinne and Satan. It matters not indeed who be the instruments, if with the eye of faith these that go forth to fight the Lords Battailes, can but see and heare the Lord going out before them against their enemies, with a sound in the tops of the Mulbery Trees. Here are assuredly evident signes that the *Lord Christ* is gone forth for his peoples deliverance, and now Frogs, Flies, Lice or Duff, shall serve to destroy those will yet hold his people in bondage, notwithstanding the Lord will honour such as hee hath made strong for himselfe; And therefore hee causeth the worthies in *Davids* time to be recorded, and it is the duty of Gods people to incourage one another in the worke of the Lord, then let all whose hearts are upright for the Lord, ponder well his goings in his Sanctuary, that their hands may be strengthened in the work they goe about, onely be strong and of a good courage.

 CHAP. VI.

Of the gracious goodnesse of the Lord Christ, in saving his New-England people, from the hand of the barbarous Indians.

LAstly, for the frontispiece of their present distresse, namely the Indian war, they with much meeknesse and great deliberation, wisely contrived how they might best helpe their fellow brethren; hereupon they resolved to send a solemne Embassage

bassage to old *Cannonicus*, chiefe Sachem of the narrow Ganfet *Indians*, who being then well stricken in yeares had caused his Nephew *Miantinemo* to take the Government upon him, who was a very sterne man, and of a great stature, of a cruell nature, causing all his Nobility and such as were his attendance to tremble at his speech, the people under his Government were very numerous, besides the *Niantick Indians*, whose Prince was of neare alliance unto him; They were able to set forth, as was then supposed 30000. fighting men, the *English* fought by all meanes to keepe these at least from confederating with the *Pequods*, and understanding by intelligence, that the *Pequots* would send to them for that end, endeavoured to prevent them. Fit and able men being chosen by the *English*, they hast them to *Cannonicus* Court, which was about fourescore miles from *Boston*.

The Indian King hearing of their comming, gathered together his chiefe Counsellors, and a great number of his Subjects to give them entertainment, resolving as then that the young King should receive their message, yet in his hearing, they arriving, were entertain'd royally, with respect to the Indian manner. Boil'd Chestnuts is their White-bread, which are very sweet, as if they were mixt with Sugar; and because they would be extraordinary in their feasting, they strive for variety after the English manner, boyling Puddings made of beaten corne, putting therein great store of black berryes, somewhat like Currants. They having thus nobly feasted them, afterward give them Audience, in a State-house, round, about fifty foot wide, made of long poles stuck in the ground, like your Summer-houses in *England*, and covered round about, and on the top with Mats, save a small place in the middle of the Roofe, to give light, and let out the smoke.

In this place fate their *Sachim*, with very great attendance; the English comming to deliver their Message, to manifest the greater state, the Indian *Sachim* lay along upon the ground, on a Mat, and his Nobility fate on the ground, with their legs doubled up, their knees touching their chin: with much sober gravity they attend the Interpreters speech. It was matter of much wonderment to the English, to see how solidly and wisely these savage people did consider of the weighty undertaking of a War; especially

cially old *Canonius*, who was very discreet in his answers. The young Sachem was indeed of a more lofty spirit, which wrought his ruine, as you may heare, after the decease of the old King. But at this time his answer was, that he did willingly embrace peace with the English, considering right well, that although their number was but small in comparison of his people, and that they were but strangers to the Woods, Swamps, and advantageous places of this Wilder nesse, yet withall he knew the English were advantaged by their weapons of War, and especially their Guns, which were of great terror to his people, and also he had heard they came of a more populous Nation by far than all the Indians were, could they be joyn'd together. Also on the other hand, with mature deliberation, he was well advised of the *Peaquods* cruell disposition and aptnesse to make War, as also their neere neighbourhood to his people, who though they were more numerous, yet were they withall more effeminate, and lesse able to defend themselves from the sudden incurfions of the *Peaquods*, should they fall out with them. Hereupon hee demes it most conducing to his owne, and his peoples safety to direct his course in a middle way, holding amity with both. The *English* returne home, having gained the old Kings favour so farre, as rather to favour them then the *Pequods*, who perceiving their Neighbouring *English* had sent forth aid to the *Mattacusets* government, thought it high time to seeke the winning all the *Indians* they could on their side, and among others they make their addresse to old *Canonius*, who, instead of taking part with them, labours all he can to hush the War in hand, laying before them the sad effects of War; sometimes proving sad and mournfull to the very Victors themselves, but alwayes to the vanquished, and withall tells them what potent enemies they had to contend with, whose very weapons and Armor were matter of terror, setting their persons a side; as also that English man was no much hoggerie yet, and therefore they might soone appease them, by delivering into their hands those persons that had bene the death of any of them, which were much better than that the whole Nation should perish.

For the present the *Pequods* seemed to be inclinable to the old *Sachims* counsell, but being returned home againe among their rude

rude multitude (the chief place of cowardly boasting) they soon change their minde; yet the old *Sachim* sends the *English* word he had wrought with them, and in very deed, the English had rather make choice of Peace then Warre, provided it may stand with Truth and Righteousnesse: and therefore send forth a band of Souldiers, who arriving in the *Peaquod* Country, address themselves to have a Treaty with them about delivering up the murtherers; they making shew of willingness so to doe, bade them abide awhile and they would bring them, and in the mean time they were conversant among the Souldiers, and viewing their Armie, pointed to divers places where they could hit them with their Arrowes for all their Corslets. But their greatest number lying the while at the other side of a great hill, and anon appearing on the top of the hill, in sight of the English: those Indians that were among the English withdrawing toward them; no sooner were they come to their Companions, but all of a suddaine they gave a great shout, and shewed the English a fair pair of heeles, who seeing it, would not availe any thing to follow them (they being farre swifter of foot than the English) made their returne home againe.

This bootlesse voyage encouraged the Indians very much, who insulted over them at the fort, boasting of this their deluding them, and withall, they blasphemed the Lord, saying, Englishmans God was all one Flye, and that English man was all one Sqawe, and themselves all one Moor-hawks. Thus by their horrible pride they fitted themselves for destruction. The English hearing this report, were now full assured that the Lord would deliver them into their hands to execute his righteous judgement upon these blasphemous murtherers; and therefore raised fresh Souldiers for the warre, to the number of fourscore, or thereabout, out of the severall towns in the *Matachusets*, and although they were but in their beginnings, yet the Lord, who fore-intended their work, provided for all their wants, and indeed it was much that they had any basket to carry with them in these times of scarcity, or any vessels to transport their men and ammunition: yet all was provided by the gracious hand of the most high; and the Souldiers, many of them, not onely armed with outward weapons, and armour of defence, but filled with

a spirit of courage and magnanimity to resist, not onely men, but Devils; for furely he was more than ordinarily present with this Indian army, as the sequell will shew: as also for their further encouragement, the reverend and zealously affected fervant of Christ, Mr. *John Wilson*, went with the army, who had treasured up heaps of the experimentall goodnesse of God towards his people. Having formerly passed through perils by Sea, perils by Land, perils among false brethren, &c. he followed the warre purpofely to found an alarum before the Lord with his silver trumpet, that his people might be remembered before him: the Souldiers arriving in safety at the towne of *Hartford*, where they were encouraged by the reverend Ministers there, with some such speech as followes.

Fellow-Souldiers, Country-men, and Companions in this Wildernesse worke, who are gathered together this day by the inevitable providence of the great Jehovah, not in a tumultuous manner hurried on by the floating fancy of every high hot headed braine, whose actions prove abortive, or if any fruit brought forth, it hath beene rape, theft, and murther, things inconsisting with natures light, then much lesse with a Souldiers valour; but you, my deare hearts, purpofely pickt out by the godly grave Fathers of this government, that your prowesse may carry on the work, where there Justice in her righteous course is obstructed, you need not question your authority to execute those whom God, the righteous Judge of all the world, hath condemned for blaspheming his sacred Majesty, and murthering his Servants: every common Souldier among you is now installed a Magistrate; then shew your selves men of courage: I would not draw low the height of your enemies hatred against you, and so debase your valour. This you may expect, their swelling pride hath laid the foundation of large conceptions against you and all the people of Christ in this wildernesse, even as wide as Babels bottome. But, my brave Souldiers, it hath mounted already to the clouds, and therefore it is ripe for confusion; also their crueltie is famously knowne, yet all true-bred Souldiers reserve this as a common maxime, cruelty and cowardize are unseparable companions; and in brieve, there is nothing wanting on your enemies part, that may deprive you of a compleat victory, onely their nimbleness of foot, and the unaccessible swamps and nut-tree woods, forth of which your small numbers may
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intice, and industry compell them. And now to you I put the question, who would not fight in such a cause with an agile spirit, and undaunted boldnesse? yet if you look for further encouragement, I have it for you; riches and honour are the next to a good cause eyed by every Souldier, to maintain your owne, and spoile your enemies of theirs; although gold and silver be wanting to either of you, yet have you that to maintaine which is farre more precious, the lives, liberties, and new purchased freedoms, priviledges, and immunities of the indeared servants of our Lord Christ Jesus, and of your second selves, even your affectionated bosome-mates, together with the chiefe pledges of your love, the comforting contents of harmlesse prattling and smiling babes: and in a word, all the riches of that goodness and mercy that attends the people of God in the injoyment of Christ, in his Ordinances, even in this life; and as for honour, David was not to be blamed for enquiring after it, as a due recompence of that true valour the Lord hath bestowed on him: and now the Lord hath prepared this honour for you, oh you couragious Souldiers of his, to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and correction among the people, to binde their Kings in chaines, and Nobles in fetters of Iron, that they may execute upon them the judgements that are written! this honour shall be to all his Saints, but some of you may suppose deaths stroke may cut you short of this: let every faithfull Souldier of Christ Jesus know, that the cause why some of his indeared Servants are taken away by death in a just warre (as this assuredly is) it is not because they should fall short of the honours accompanying, such noble designes, but rather because earths honours are too scant for them, and therefore the everlasting Crown must be set upon their heads forthwith, then march on with a cheerfull Christian courage in the strength of the Lord, and the power of his might, who will forthwith inclose your enemies in your hands, make their multitudes fall under your warlike weapons, and your feet shall soon be set on their proud necks.

After the Ministers of Christ had, through the grace that was given them, exhorted and encouraged these Souldiers appointed for the work, they being provided with certaine Indian guides, who with the close of the day brought them to a small river, where they could perceive many persons had been dressing of fish; upon the sight thereof, the Indian guides concluded they

were now a feasting it at their fort, which was hard at hand; the English calling a Council of warre, being directed by the speciallest providence of the most high God, they concluded to storm the fort a little before break of day; at which time they supposed the Indians being up late in their jolly feasting, would be in their deepest sleepe; and surely so it was, for they now slept their last: the English keeping themselves as covertly as they could, approached the fort at the time appointed, which was builded of whole Trees set in the ground fast, and standing up an end about twelve foot high, very large, having pitcht their Wigwams within it, the entrance being on two sides, with intricate Meanders to enter. The chiefe Leaders of the English made some little stand before they offered to enter, but yet boldly they rushed on, and found the passages guarded at each place with an Indian Bow-man, ready on the string, they soone let fly, and wounded the foremost of the English in the shoulder, yet having dispatch'd the Porters, they found the winding way in without a Guide, where they soone placed themselves round the Wigwams, and according to direction they made their first shot with the muzzle of their Muskets downe to the ground, knowing the Indian manner is to lie on the ground to sleep, from which they being in this terrible manner awakened, unlesse it were such as were slaine with the shot.

After this some of the *English* entered the Wigwams, where they received some shot with their Arrowes, yet catching up the fire-brands, they began to fire them, and others of the English Soulders with powder, did the same: the day now began to break; the Lord intending to have these murtherers know he would looke out of the cloudy pillar upon them: and now these women and children set up a terrible out-cry; the men were smitten down, and slaine, as they came forth with a great slaughter, the *Sgawes* crying out, oh much winn it English-man, who moved with pittie toward them, saved their lives: and hereupon some young youth cried, I squaw, I squaw, thinking to finde the like mercy. There were some of these Indians, as is reported, whose bodyes were not to be pierced by their sharp rapiers or swords of a long time, which made some
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of the Souldiers think the Devil was in them, for there were some *Powwows* among them, which work strange things, with the help of Satan. But this was very remarkable, one of them being wounded to death, and thrust thorow the neck with a halbert; yet after all, lying groaning upon the ground, he caught the halberts speare in his hand, and wound it quite round. After the English were thus possessed of this first victory, they sent their prisoners to the pinnaces, and profecute the warre in hand, to the next Battalia of the Indians, which lay on a hill about two miles distant, and indeed their stoutest Souldiers were at this place, and not yet come to the fort; the English being weary with their night worke, and wanting such refreshing as the present worke required, began to grow faint, yet having obtained one victory, they were very desirous of another: and further, they knew right-well, till this curfed crew were utterly rooted out, they should never be at peace; therefore they marched on toward them. Now assuredly, had the Indians knowne how much weakned our Souldiers were at present, they might have born them downe with their multitude, they being very strong and agile of body, had they come to handy-gripes; but the Lord (who would have his people know their work was his, and he onely must order their Counfels, and war-like work for them) did bring them timely supply from the vessels, and also gave them a second victory, wherein they slew many more of their enemies, the residue flying into a very thick swamp, being unaccessible, by reason of the boggy holes of water, and thick bushes; the English drawing up their company beleagured the swamp, and the Indians in the mean time skulking up and down, and as they saw opportunity they made shot with their Arrowes at the English, and then suddainly they would fall flat along in the water to defend themselves from the retaliation of the Souldiers Muskets. This lasted not long, for our English being but a small number, had parted themselves far asunder, but by the providence of the most high God, some of them spyed an Indian with a kettle at his back going more inwardly into the swamp, by which they perceived there was some place of firm land in the midst thereof, which caused them to make way for the passage

of their Souldiers, which brought this warre to a period: For although many got away, yet were they no such considerable number as ever to raise warre any more; the flaine or wounded of the English were (through the mercy of Christ) but a few: One of them being shot through the body, neere about the breast, regarding it not till of a long time after, which caused the blood to dry and thicken on either end of the arrow so that it could not be drawne forth his body without great difficulty and much paine, yet did he scape his life, and the wound healed. Thus the Lord was pleased to assist his people in this warre, and deliver them out of the Indians hands, who were very lusty proper men of their hands, most of them, as may appear by one passage which I shall here relate: thus it came to passe, As the Souldiers were upon their march, close by a great thicket, where no eye could penetrate farre, as it often falls out in such wearisom wayes, where neither men nor beast have beaten out a path; some Souldiers lingering behinde their fellowes, two Indians watching their opportunity, much like a hungry hauke, when they supposed the last man was come up, who kept a double double distance in his march, they sudden and swiftly snatched him up in their tallens, hoising him upon their shoulders, ran into the swamp with him; the Souldier unwilling to be made a Pope by being borne on mens shoulders, strove with them all he could to free himselfe from their hands; but, like a carefull Commander, one Captaine *Davenport*, then Lieutenant of this company, being diligent in his place to bring up the reare, coming up with them, followed with speed into the swamp after him, having a very severe cutlace tyed to his wrist, and being well able to make it bite fore when he set it on, resolving to make it fall foul on the Indians bones, he soone overtook them, but was prevented by the buckler they held up from hitting them, which was the man they had taken: It was matter of much wonder to see with what dexterity they hurled the poore Souldier about, as if they had been handling a *Lacedæmonian* shield, so that the nimble Captaine *Davenport* could not, of a long time, fasten one stroke upon them; yet, at last, dying their tawny skin into a crimson colour, they cast downe their prey, and hasted thorow the thickets for their lives. The Souldier thus redeemed, had no such
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hard usage, but that he is alive, as I suppose, at this very day: The Lord in mercy toward his poore Churches having thus destroyed these bloody barbarous Indians, he returns his people in safety to their vessels, where they take account of their prisoners: the *Squawes* and some young youths they brought home with them, and finding the men to be deeply guilty of the crimes they undertooke the warre for, they brought away onely their heads as a token of their victory. By this means the Lord strook a trembling terror into all the Indians round about, even to this very day.

CHAP. VII.

Of the first Synod holden in New England, whereby the Lord in his mercy did more plainly discover his ancient truths, and confute those cursed errors that ordinarily dogg the reforming Churches of CHRIST.

THE Lord Christ deeming it most expedient for his people to adde some farther help to assist them in cutting downe those cursed errors (that were the next dangerous difficulty they were to meet with) sends in the Reverend and bright shining light Mr. *Davenport*, and the cheerfull, grave, and gracious Soldier of his, Mr. *Allen*, as also Mr. *Thompson*, Mr. *Browne*, Mr. *Fish*, with divers other of the faithfull servants of Christ, the much honoured Mr. *Eaton* and Mr. *Hopkins*: and now the time being come, the Synod fate at *Cambridge*, where was present about 25. Reverend and godly Ministers of Christ, besides many other graciously-eminent servants of his. A Catalogue of the severall Errors scattered about the Countrey was there produced, to the number of 80. and liberty given to any man to dispute *pro* or *con*, and none to be charged to be of that opinion he disputed for, unlesse he should declare himselfe so to be. The Weapons these Souldiers of Christ warred with, was the Sword of the Spirit, even the Word of God, together with earnest prayer to the God of all Truth, that he would open his truths unto them. The clearing of the true sense and meaning of any place of Scripture, it was done by Scripture, for they so discerned by the grace of God that

that was given them, that the whole Scripture must be attended unto. Foure sorts of persons I could with a good will have paid their passage out, and home againe to *England*, that they might have been present at this Synod, so that they would have reported the truth of all the passages thereof to their own Colledges at their return. The first is the Prelates, who both in Theorie and Practice might have made their owne Eyes Judges in the case, Whether would prevaile most, (to the suppressing of Error, and advancing of Unity in the true worship of God) either their commanding power backt with the subordinate sword of Princes, or the Word of God cleered up by the faithfull labour and indefatigable pains of the sincere servants of the Lord Christ, and mightily declared through the demonstration of his blessed Spirit. This well weighed, may (through the Lords blessing) stop the yet running fancie in the brains of many, that their Lordly power is the onely means of suppressing Error.

Secondly, the Godly and Reverend Presbyterian Party, who, had they made their eye-witnesses of this worke, they had assuredly saved themselves much labour, which I dare presume they would have spent worthily otherwayes, then in writing so many books to prove the Congregationall or Independant Churches to be the sluice, through which so many floods of Error flow in: nay, my deare and reverend brethren, might not so much work of yours in writing, and ours in answering, have been a meanes to have stopt the height of this overflowing flood? and through the Lords assisting have settled Peace and Truth in a great measure throughout the three Nations.

Thirdly, those who with their new stratagems have brought in so much old error; for although they had a party here, yet verily they durst not bring their New Light to the Old Word, for fear it would prove but Old Darknesse, (as indeed they doe.) But here might they have seene the Ministers of Christ (who were so experienced in the Scripture, that some of them could tell you the place, both Chapter and Verse, of most sentences of Scripture could be named unto them) with Scriptures light, cleering up the truths of Christ clouded by any of these Errors and Heresies, as had not been done for many Ages before: and verily this great work of Christ must not be lightly over-past, the Author of this

History

History passeth not for the shrewd censures of men: nor, can it be any matter of disparagement to the reverend and highly honoured in Christ, remaining in *England*, that their fellow brethren have done so worthily here? it is well knowne to all our English Nation, that the most able-preaching Ministers of Christ were most pursued by the lording Clergy, and those that have spent all their dayes, even from a child, in searching the Scriptures, the Lord Christ preparing them by his blessed spirit for this very work. Besides, their continued practice in studying and preaching the wayes of truth; and lastly, their meeting with the opposition of so many crafty, close couched errors, whose first foundation was laid cheke by joule with the most glorious, heavenly, and blessed truths, to dazle the eyes of the beholders, and strike terrour into the hearts of those should lift up their hands against them, for feare they should misse them, and hit their stroke upon the blessed truth; and also to bring up a slanderous and evil report on all the able Orthodox Ministers of Christ that withstand them, perswading men they withstand the holy, heavenly, and blessed truth, which they have lodged there, which this Synod did with strong & undeniable arguments fetch from Scripture, to overthrow and pluck up by the roots, all those Errors, which you have heard mentioned in the former Book, the which they divided for the more full answering of them. Among all those valiant Champions of the Truth whom you have heard named, to some six, some five, some foure, &c. it had assuredly been worth the work to have related the particular manner of putting to the sword every one of them: but besides the length of the discourse, there must have been a more able Penman: but however they were so put to death, that they never have stood up in a living manner among us since, but sometimes like Wizards to peepe and mutter out of ground, fit for such people to resort unto, as will goe from the living to the dead. But blessed be the Lord Christ, who girded his people with strength against this day of battaile, and caused the Heavens to cleere up againe in New-England, after these foggy dayes.

The fourth and last sort of persons, whose presence I could most of all the other three former have desired was, those whose disease lay as chiefly in despising all Physitians, and that upon this

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ground

ground for one, because some for filthy lucre sake have nourisht Diseases rather than cured them. Many pamphlets have come from our Countrey men of late, to this purpose, namely, scurrilously to deride all kind of Scholarship, Presbytery, and Synods. Experience hath taught Gods people here, that such are troubled with some sinfull opinion of their owne, that they would not have touched; but had they been at this Synod, they must, *per force*, have learned better language, or their speech and their knowledge would fall foule one of the other; here might they have beheld the humility of the most learned of these servants of Christ, condemning the high conceitednesse of their ignorance, and then also the framing of Arguments in a Schollar-like way, did (the Lord assisting) cleare up the truths of Christ more to the meanest capacity in one hour, then could be clouded again in seaven yeare by the new notion of any such as boast so much of their unlettered knowledge, diversity of languages, although a correcting hand of God upon the whole world, when they joyned together in that proud Edifice: yet now is it blest of God, to retaine the purity of the Scriptures; if any man should goe about to corrupt them in one language, they should remain pure in another; and assuredly, the Lord intending to have the wayes of the Gospel of Christ to be made more manifest at this time, then formerly, not by tradition of our forefathers, or by mans reason, but by the revealed will of God in the holy Scripture, did accordingly prepare Instruments for this work, earthen vessels, men subject to like infirmities with our selves; sorry men, and carrying about with them a body of sinne and death, men subject to erre: yet these did the Lord Christ cause to be train'd up in Learning, and tutor'd at the Universities, and that very young, some of them, as the revererend Mr. *John Cotten* at 13. yeares of age. The mighty power of God sanctified and ordained them for this work, and made them a defenced city, an iron pillar, a wall of brasse against all the opposers of his truth; and now coupled them together in this Synod, to draw in Christs yoke, and warre with the weapons he had furnished them withall, and cause the blessed truths of Christ to shine forth in their splendour and glory, farre more after the dispersing of this smoak, which of a long time hath filled the Temple, and hindered

red the entring in of those great number of Converts, which shall flow in at the fall of all antichristian Errors; and verily as the Lord Christ had called forth this little handfull to be a model of his glorious work, intended throughout the whole world, so chiefly in this suppressing of Errours, Sects, and Heresies, by the blessed word of his truth, causing his servants in this Synod, mutually to agree; and by his gracious providence, break in pieces a contrived plot of some, who, by mis-reports, insinuating jealousies, and crafty carriage of matters to the wrong mark, with a writing of thrice twenty strong, would have drawne away one of the valiant Souldiers of Christ from this worthy worke, who both then, and since, hath been very helpfull to cast downe many a strong fort erected by the Sectaries; but the Lord Christ would not suffer this blow to be given, intending all people (by way of restitution) for their slanderous reports, cast upon his *New England* Churches (as being the inlet to Errours) shall honour them with this victorious conquest, given them by Christ herein; yet willing they would, their brethren in *England* might win the prize by out-stripping them, more abundantly in length, bredth and height, which the same God is able to performe, that hath been thus abundantly good to us.

About this time the Churches of Christ began to be diligent in their duty, and the civil government in looking after such as were like to disturb the peace of this new erected government; some persons being so hot headed for maintaining of these finfull opinions, that they feared breach of peace, even among the Members of the superiour Court, but the Lord blessing them with agreement to prevent the wofull effects of civill broyles; those in place of government caused certain persons to be disarmed in the severall Townes, as in the Towne of *Boston*, to the number of 58. in the Towne of *Salem* 6. in the Towne of *Newbery* 3. in the Towne of *Roxbury* 5. in the Towne of *Ipswitch* 2. and *Charles* Towne 2. others there were, that through the help of the faithfull servants of Christ, came to see how they had beene misled, and by the power of Christ in his Word, returned againe with an acknowledgement of their sinne; but others there were, who remained obstinate, to the disturbing of the civill power, and were bani-

fhed, of whom you fhall heare farther hereafter. Some of the Churches of Chrifft being more indulgent, waited long ere they fell upon the work: and here you muft tak notice, that the Synod Civil Government, and the Churches of Chrifft, kept their proper place, each moving in their own fphear, and acting by their own light, or rather by the revelation of Jefus Chrifft, witnessed by his Word and Spirit, yet not refusing the help of each other (as fome would willingly have it) fome of the Churches profecuting the Rule of Chrifft againft their hereticall Members, were forced to proceed to excommunication of them, who when they faw whereto it would come, they would have prevented it with lying, but the Lord difcovered it; and fo they were juftly separated from the Churches of Chrifft for lying: which being done, they fell to their old trade againe.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the planting the fourth Colonie of New Englands godly Government, called New-Haven.

THe Lord Chrifft having now in his great mercy taken out of the way thefe mountains that feemed in the eye of Man to block up his Churches further proceedings, they had now leifure to welcome the living ftones that the Lord was pleased to adde unto this building, and with thankfull acknowledgment to give him of his owne for his mercyes multitude, whose was the work in planting, not onely more Churches, but another Colony alfo; for the honoured Mr, *Eaton* being accompanied with many worthy perfons of note, whom the Lord had furnished with ftore of fubftance for this wilderneffe-work, although they would willingly have made their abode under the government of the *Mattachufets*; yet could they finde no place upon the Sea-coasts for their fettling: the Lord intending to enlarge his peoples border, caufed them, after much fearch, to take up a place fomewhat more fouthwardly, neare the fhalles of *Cape-cod*, where they had very flatt water; yet being entred in, they found a commodious harbour for fhipping, and a fit place to erect a Towne

Towne, which they built in very little time, with very faire houfes, and compleat streets; but in a little time they overstockt it with Chattell, although many of them did follow merchandizing, and Maritime affairs, but their remoteness from the Mattachusetts Bay, where the chiefe traffique lay, hindred them much. Here did these godly and sincere servants of Christ, according to the rule of the Word, gather into Church Estate, and called to the office of a Pastor the reverend, judicious, and godly Mr, *John Davenport*, of whom the Author is bold to say as followeth:

W*hen Men and Devils 'gainst Christs flock conspire,
 For them prepar'd a deadly trapping net;
 Then Christ to make all men his work admire,
 Davenport, he doth thee from thy Country fet
 To sit in Synod, and his folk assist:
 The filthy vomit of Hels Dragon, deepe
 In earths womb drawn, blest they this poyson mist,
 And blest the meanes doth us from error keep.
 Thy grave advice and arguments of strength
 Did much prevaile, the Erronist confound.
 Well hast thou warr'd, Christ drawes thy dayes in length,
 That thou in learn'd experience maist abound:
 What though thou leave a city stor'd with pleasure,
 Spend thy prime dayes in heathen desart land,
 Thy joy's in Christ, and not in earthly treasure,
 Davenport rejoyce, Christs Kingdome is at hand;
 Didst ever deem to see such glorious dayes?
 Though thou decrease with age and earths content,
 Thou live'st in Christ, needs then must thy joy raise;
 His Kingdome's thine, and that can ne'r be spent.*

This Church and Town soon procur'd some Sisters to take part with her, and among them they erected a godly and peaceable Government, and called their frontier towne *New-haven*, of which the Government is denominated, being inhabited by many men eminent in gifts for the populating thereof, and managing of affaires both by Sea and Land; they have had some shipping

built there, but by the sad losse of Mr. *Lambertons* ship and goods also, they were much disheartned, but the much honoured Mr. *Eaton* remaines with them to this very day.

T*Hou noble thus, Theophilus, before great kings to stand,
More noble far, for Christ his war thou leav'st thy native land;
With thy rich store thou cam'st on shore Christs Churches to assist;
What if it wast? thou purchast hast that Pearl that most have mist,
Nay rather he hath purchast thee, and whatsoever thou hast,
With graces store to govern o're his people, he thee plac't.
Our State affaires thy will repaires, assistant thou hast bin
Firm league to make, for Gospels sake, four Colonyes within; (bred,
With Sweads, French, Dutch, and Indians much, Gods peoples peace this
Then Eaton aye, remember may the Child that's yet unfed.*

This government of *New-Haven*, although the younger Sister of the foure yet was she as beautifull as any of this broode of travellers, & most minding the end of her coming hither, to keep close to the rule of Christ both in Doctrin and Discipline; and it were to be wished her elder Sister would follow her example, to nurture up all her children accordingly: here is not to be forgotten the honoured Mr *Hopkins*, who came over about this time a man of zeale and courage for the truths of Christ, assisting this blessed work, both in person and estate; for the which the Author cannot forget him, being oft in commiffion for the good of all the united Colonyes.

H*Opkins thou must, although weak dust, for this great work pre-
Through Ocean large Christ gives thee charge to govern his
with care;
What earthen man, in thy short span throughout the world to run
From East to West at Christs behest, thy worthy work is done:
Unworthy thou acknowledge now, not unto thee at all,
But to his name be lasting fame, thou to his work doth call.*

CHAP. IX.

Of the planting the fourteenth Church of Christ under the government of the Mattachusets Bay, called Dedham.

THe latter end of this yeare 'twas the Towne of *Dedham* began, an inland Towue, scituate, about ten miles from *Boston*, in the County of *Suffolk*, well watred with many pleasant streames, abounding with Garden fruits fitly to supply the Markets of the most populous Towne, whose coyne and commodities allures the Inhabitants of this Towne to make many a long walk; they consist of about a hundred Families, being generally given to husbandry, and, through the blessing of God, are much encreased, ready to swarme and settle on the building of another Towne more to the Inland; they gather into a Church at their first settling, for indeed, as this was their chiefe errand, so was it the first thing they ordinarily minded; to pitch their Tabernacles neare the Lords Tent: To this end they called to the office of a Pastor, the reverend, humble, and heavenly-minded, Mr. *John Allen*, a man of a very courteous behaviour, full of sweet Christian love towards all, and with much meeknesse of spirit, contending earnestly for the faith and peace of Christs Churches.

ALL you so slite Christs sanctifying grace,
 As legall workes, what Gospel-work can be
 But sinne cast out, and spirits work in place,
 They justified that Christ thus reigning see:
 Allen, thou art by Christs free spirit led
 To warre for him in wildernesse awhile;
 What, doe for Christ, I man thou art in's stead,
 Sent to beseech, in's Vineyard thou must toyle.
 John Allen joy, thou sinfull dust art taken
 To spend thy dayes in exile, so remote,
 Christs Church to build, of him that's ne'r forsaken,
 Nor thou, for now his truths thou must promote.
 He guides thy tongue, thy paper, pen and hands,
 Thy hearts swift motion, and affections choice;

M. Allen a great help against the Errors of the time.

Needs

*Needs thou thus lead, must doe what he commands,
And cry aloud when he lifts up thy voice:
Seven yeares compleat twice told, thy work hath bin,
To feed Christs flock, in desart land them keep,
Both thou and they each day are kept by him;
Safe maist thou watch, being watcht by him ne'r sleeps.*

This Church of Christ hath in its bosome neere about 70. souls joyned in Covenant together, and being well seasoned with this favoury salt, have continued in much love and unity from their first foundation, hitherto tanflating the close, clouded woods into goodly corn-fields, and adding much comfort to the lonesome travellers, in their solitary journey to *Caneatico*, by eying the habitation of Gods people in their way, ready to administer refreshing to the weary.

CHAP. X.

Of the planting of the fifteenth Church of Christ at the Towne of Waymoth.

THE Towne and Church of Christ at *Waymoth* had come in among the other Townes before this, as being an elder Sister, but onely for her somewhat more then ordinary instability; it is battered with the brinish billows on the East; Rocks and Swamps to the Southwest, makes it delightfull to the nimble tripping Deere, as the plowable places of Medow land is to the Inhabitants. This Towne was first founded by some persons that were not so forward to promote the Ordinances of Christ, as many others have been: they desired the reverend Minister of Christ Mr. *Gennors*, to be helpfull in preaching the Word unto them; who after some little space of time, not liking the place, repaired to the Eastern English: but the people of this place, after his departure, being gathered into a Church, they called to office the reverend and godly Mr. *Newman*; but many of them unwilling to continue in this Towne, as supposing they had found a fitter place for habitation, removed into the next Government, carrying with them their Pastor; by which means, the people that were left behinde, were now destitute, and having some godly Christians among them, who much desired the sincere milk of the Word, that they might grow thereby: upon diligent use of meanes they found out a young man able gifted for the work, brought up with the reverend and judicious Mr. *Chancie*, called Mr. *Thomas Thatcher*. Yet againe, after some few yeares, for want of sufficient maintenance, with mutuall consent they parted with him, and are forced to borrow help of their Neighbours, wherein all of them to the Author is bold to say as followeth:

O *H* people, reason swayes mans actions here,
 You sanctified, o're these long seas doth look,
 With heavenly things your earthly toyle to cheere;
 Will lose the end for which this toyle you tooke.

Christ comes in's Word, let their bright feet abide
Your Towne, among whose grace and gifts excell
In preaching Christ, it's he your hearts hath try'd,
They want no store that all for him doe sell.
Gennors, dost love thy Christ? I hope he's deare
Belov'd of thee, he honour'd would thee have
To feed his flock, while thou remainest here ;
With's Word of truth thy soule and others save.
With little flock doth Newman pack away ;
The righteous lips sure might a many feed ;
Remov'st for gaine? it's most where most men stay,
Men part for land, why land least helps at need.
Thatcher, what mean'st to leave thy little flock?
Sure their increase might thee much profit bring :
What, leave Christs Church? it's founded on a rock ;
If rock not left, their ebb may suddain spring ;
Pastor and People, have you both forgot
What parting Paul and Christs deare people had?
Their loves melt teares, it's ve'mently so hot,
His heart-strings break to see his folk so sad.

This yeare came over, besides the former, for the furthering of this blessed work of Christ, Mr. *William Tompson*, Mr. *Edm: Browne*, and Mr. *David Frisk*, who were called to office in severall Churches, as you shall after hear. And now to end this yeare, that abounded in the wonder-working Providence of Christ, for his Churches, in the exaltation of his truths, that all may take notice the Lord cast in by the by, as it were, a very fruitfull crop, infomuch that from this day forward, their increase was every yeare more and more, till the Country came to feed its owne Inhabitants; and the people who formerly were somewhat pincht with hunger, eat bread to the full, having not onely for their necessity but also for their conveniency and delight.

CHAP. XI.

Of the increase of the people of Christ. Printing brought over, and the sixteenth Church of Christ planted at Rowly.

FOR the yeare 1638. *John Winthrope* Esq. was chosen Governour, and *Tho: Dudley* Esq. Deputy Governour; the number of Freemen added were about 130. The peace of this little Common-wealth being now in great measure settled, by the Lords mercy, in overthrowing the Indians, and banishing of certaine turbulent spirits. The Churches of Christ were much edified in their holy faith by their indefatigable pains of their Ministers, in their weekly Lectures extraordinary, as well as by their Sabbath-Affsemblies, and continuall visiting of their people from house to house, endeavouring to heale the hurts these false deceivers had made, with double diligence shewing downe the sweet dews of the blessed Gospel of Jesus Christ, to the converting of many a poor soul. and indeed, now were the glorious days of *New England*; the Churches of Christ increase dayly, and his eminent Embassadours resort unto them from our native Country, which as then lay under the tyranny of the Monarchall Archbishops, which caused the servants of Christ to wander from their home. This yeare the reverend and judicious M. *Jos. Glover* undertook this long voyage, being able both in person and estate for the work he provided, for further compleating the Colonies in Church and Common-wealth-work, a Printer, which hath been very usefull in many respects; the Lord seeing it meet that this reverend and holy servant of his should fall short of the shores of *New England*: but yet at this time he brought over the zealous affected and judicious servant of his, Master *Ezekiel Rogers*, who with a holy and humble people, made his progress to the North-Eastward, and erected a Towne about 6. miles from *Ipswich*, called *Rowly*, where wanting room, they purchased some addition of the Town of *Newbery*; yet had they a large length of land, onely for the neere conveniency to the Towne of *Ipswich*, by the which means they partake of the con-

tinued Lectures of either Towne: these people being very industrious every way, soone built many houses, to the number of about threescore families, and were the first people that set upon making of Cloth in this Western World; for which end they built a fulling-mill, and caused their little-ones to be very diligent in spinning cotten wooll, many of them having been clothiers in *England*, till their zeale to promote the Gospel of Christ caused them to wander; and therefore they were no lesse industrious, in gathering into Church society, there being scarce a man among them, but such as were meet to be living stones in this building, according to the judgement of man; they called to the office of a Pastor this holy man of God, Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*, of whom this may be said:

*C*hrist for this work Rogers doth riches give,
 Rich graces fit his people for to feed,
 Wealth to supply his wants whilst here he live,
 Free thou receiv'st to serve his peoples need.
 England may mourne they thee no longer keep,
 English rejoice, Christ doth such worthyes raise,
 His Gospel preach, unfold his mysteries deep;
 Weak dust made strong sets forth his makers praise:
 With fervent zeale, and courage thou hast fought
 'Gainst that transformed Dragon and his bands,
 Snatcht forth the burning thou poore soules hast caught,
 And freed thy flock from wolves devouring hands.
 Ezekiel mourn not, thou art severed farre,
 From thy deare Country, to a desart land;
 Christ call'd hath thee unto this worthy warre;
 By him o'come, he holds thy Crowne in's hand.

For the further assisting of this tender flock of Christ, the reverend Mr. *John Miller* did abide among them for some space of time, preaching the Word of God unto them also, till it pleased the Lord to call him to be Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Yarmouth*, in *Plimoth* patten, where he remaineth at this very day.

With

*With courage bold Miller through Seas doth venter,
 To toyl it out in this great Western wast,
 Thy stature low one object high doth center;
 Higher than Heaven thy faith on Christ is plac't:
 Allarum thou with silver trumpet sound,
 And tell the world Christs Armyes are at hand,
 With Scripture-truths thou Errors dost confound,
 And overthrow all Antichristian bands:
 It matters not for th'worlds high reputation;
 The World must fall and Christ alone must stand;
 Thy Crown's prepar'd in him, then keep thy station,
 Joy that Christs Kingdome is so neare at hand.*

CHAP. XII.

*Of the great Earthquake in New England, and of the wofull end
 of some erronious persons, with the first foundation of
 Harverd Colledge.*

THIS yeare, the first day of the Fourth Month, about two of the clock in the after-noon, the Lord caus'd a great and terrible Earth-quake, which was generall throughout all the English Plantations; the motion of the Earth was such, that it caused divers men (that had never knowne an Earth-quake before) being at worke in the Fields, to cast downe their working-tooles, and run with gasty terrified lookes, to the next company they could meet withall; it came from the Westerne and uninhabited parts of this Wildernesse, and went the direct course: this brood of Travellers came, the Ministers of Christ many of them could say at that very time (not from any other Revelation, but what the word holds forth) that if the Churches of *New England* were Gods house, then suddenly there would follow great alterations in the Kingdomes of Europe.

This yeare the civill government proceeded to censure the residue of those sinfull erroneous persons, who raised much com-

motion in this little Common-wealth; who being banished, resorted to a place more Southward, some of them sitting down at a place called Providence, others betooke them to an Island about 16. miles distant from the former, called *Rode* Island, where having Elbow roome enough, none of the Ministers of Christ, nor any other to interrupt their false and deceivable Doctrines, they hamper'd themselves foully with their owne line, and soone shewed the depthlesse ditches that blinde guides lead into; many among them being much to be pittied, who were drawne from the truth by the bewitching tongues of some of them being, very ignorant and easily perverted: and although the people were not many in all, yet were they very diverse in their opinions, and glad where they could gaine most Disciples to heare them; some were for every day to be a Sabbath, and therefore kept not any Sabbath-day at all; others were some for one thing, some for another; and therefore had their severall meetings, making many a goodly piece of Preachment; among whom there were some of the female sexe (who deeming the Apostle *Paul* to be too strict in not permitting a roome to preach in the publique Congregation) taught, notwithstanding they having their call to this office, from an ardent desire of being famous, especially the grand Mistresse of them all, who ordinarily prated every Sabbath day, till others, who thirsted after honour in the same way with her selfe, drew away her Auditors, and then she withdrew her self, her husband, and her family also, to a more remote place; and assuredly, although the Lord be secret in all the dispensation of his providences, whether in judgement or mercy, yet much may be learn'd from all, as sometimes pointing with the finger to the lesson; as here these persons withdrawing from the Churches of Christ (wherein he walketh, and is to be found in his blessed Ordinances) to a first and second place, where they came to a very sad end; for thus it came to passe in the latter place, The Indians in those parts forwarned them of making their abode there; yet this could be no warning to them, but still they continued, being amongst a multitude of Indians, boasted they were become all one Indian: and indeed, this woman, who had the chiefe rule of all the roaft, being very bold in her strange Revelations and mis-applications, tells

tells them, though all nations and people were cut off round about them, yet should not they; till on a day certaine Indians coming to her house, discoursing with them, they wished to tye up her doggs, for they much bit the man, not mistrusting the Indians guile, did so; the which no sooner done, but they cruelly murdered her, taking one of their daughters away with them, & another of them seeking to escape is caught, as she was getting over a hedge, and they drew her back againe by the haire of the head to the stump of a tree, and there cut off her head with a hatchet; the other that dwelt by them betook them to boat, and fled, to tell the sad newes; the rest of their companions, who were rather hardened in their sinfull way, and blasphemous opinions, than brought to any sight of their damnable Errours, as you shall after hear; yet was not this the first loud speaking hand of God against them; but before this the Lord had poynted directly to their sinne by a very fearfull Monster, that another of these women brought forth they striving to bury it in oblivion, but the Lord brought it to light, setting forth the view of their monstrous Errors in this prodigious birth. This yeare, although the estates of these pilgrim people were much wasted, yet seeing the benefit that would accrew to the Churches of Christ and Civil Government, by the Lords blessing, upon learning, they began to erect a Colledge, the Lord by his provident hand giving his approbation to the work, in sending over a faithfull and godly servant of his, the reverend Mr *John Harverd*, who joyning with the people of Christ at *Charles Towne*, suddenly after departed this life, and gave near a thousand pound toward this work; wherefore the Government thought it meet to call it *Harverd* Colledge in remembrance of him.

IP Harverd had with riches here been taken,
 He need not then through troublous Seas have past,
 But Christs bright glory hath thine eyes so waken,
 Nought can content, thy soule of him must tast:
 Oh tast and tell how sweet his Saints among,
 Christ ravisht hath thy heart with heavenly joyes
 To preach and pray with teares affection strong,
 From hearts delight in him who thee employes.

Scarce

Scarce hast thou had Christs Churches here in eye,
 But thou art call'd to eye him face to face;
 Earths scant contents death drawes thee from, for why?
 Full joy thou wouldst that's onely in heavens place.

CHAP. XIII.

*Of the coming over of the honoured Mr. Pelham, and the planting
 of the seaventeenth Church of Christ at the
 Towne of Hampton.*

THIS yeare 1639. *John Winthrope* Esq, was chosen Governour, and *Thomas Dudley* Esq. Deputy Governour, the number of freemen added were about 83. This yeare came over the much honoured Mr. *Herbert Pelham*, a man of a courteous behaviour, humble, and heavenly minded.

HArbertus, hye on valiant, why lingerst thou so long?
 Christs work hath need of hasty speed, his enemies are strong:
 In wildernesse Christ doth thee blesse with vertues, wife, and seed,
 To govern thou, at length didst bow to serve Christs peoples need;
 To thine own soyle thou back dost toyle, then cease not lab'ring there,
 But still advance Christs Ordinance, and shrink no where for fear.

Much about this time began the Town of *Hampton*, in the County of *Northfolk*, to have her foundation stone-laid, scituate neare the Sea-coast, not farre from the famous River of *Merimeck*, the great store of salt marsh did intice this people to set downe their habitations there, for as yet Cowes and Cattell of that kinde were not come to the great downfall in their price, of which they have about 450. head; and for the form of this Towne, it is like a Flower-de-luce, two streets of houses wheeling off from the maine body thereof, the land is fertile, but filled with swamps, and some store of rocks, the people are about 60. Families; being gathered together into Church covenant, they called to office the reverend, grave, and gracious Mr. *Doulton*,
 having

having also for some little space of time the more ancient Mr. *Batchelor* (of whom you have heard in the former Book) to preach unto them also; here take a short remembrance of the other.

DOulton doth teach perspicuously and sound,
 With wholesome truths of Christ thy flock dost feed,
 Thy honour with thy labour doth abound,
 Age crownes thy head in righteousness, proceed
 To batter downe, root up, and quite destroy
 All Heresies, and Errors, that draw back
 Unto perdition, and Christs folk annoy;
 To warre for him thou weapons dost not lack:
 Long dayes to see, that long'd for day to come
 Of Babels fall, and Israels quiet peace:
 Thou yet maist live of dayes so great a sum
 To see this work, let not thy warsfare cease.

 CHAP. XIV.

*Of the planting the eighteenth Church of Christ at the
 Towne of Salisbury.*

FOR further perfecting this Wilder nesse-work; not far from the Towne of *Hampton* was erected another Towne, called *Salisbury*, being brought forth as Twins, sometime contending for eldership: This being seated upon the broad swift torrent of *Merrimeck*, a very goodly River to behold, were it not blockt up with some suddaine falls through the rocks; over against this Towne lyeth the Towne of *Newberry*, on the Southern side of the River a constant Ferry being kept between; for although the River be about half a mile broad, yet, by reason of an Island that lies in the midst thereof, it is the better passed in troublefom weather: the people of this Towne have of late, placed their dwellings so much distanced the one from the other, that they are like to divide into two Churches; the scituation of this Towne is very pleasant, were the Rivers *Navigable* farre up, the branches thereof abound in faire and goodly medowes with

good store of stately Timber upon the uplands in many places, this Towne is full as fruitfull in her Land, Chattell, and Inhabitants, as her Sister *Hampton*; the people joyned in Church-relation or brotherhood, nere about the time the other did, and have desired and obtained the reverend and graciously godly, M. *Thomas Wofter* to be their Pastor.

W*ith mickle labour and distressed wants,*
 Wofter, thou hast in desert's depth remain'd
 Thy chiefest dayes, Christs Gospel there to plant,
 And water well, such toyle shall yeild great gaine.
 Oh happy day! may Wofter say, that I
 Was singled out for this great work in hand;
 Christ by distresse doth Gold for's Temple try:
 Thrice blest are they may in his Presence stand,
 But more, thou art by him reserved yet,
 To see on earth Christ's Kingdom's exaltation:
 More yet, thou art by him prepared fit
 To help it on, among our English Nation.

CHAP. XV.

*Of further supply for the Church of Christ at Waterton.
And a sad accident fell out in Boston Towne.*

THe Lord intending to strengthen his poore Churches here, and after the overthrow of these damnable Errors, to trample Satan under their feet; he manifesteth his mindefulness of them, in sending over fresh supplyes againe and againe: although weak and fory men in themselves, yet strong in the Lord, and the power of his might, the last that this yeare is to be named, is the reverend, judicious, and godly-affected, Mr, *John Knowles*, who was desired of the Church of Christ at *Waterton*, to be a two-fold cord unto them, in the office of a teaching Elder, with the reverend Mr. *Phillips*, of whom you have heard in the former Book.

W*ith courage bold and arguments of strength,
Knowles doth apply Gods word his flock unto,
Christ furnisht hath (to shew his bountyes length)
Thee with rich gifts, that thou his work mayst do:
New England is too scant, for thy desire
Inkindled is, Christs truths abroad to spread,
Virginia may his grace to them admire,
That thee through Seas for their instruction led;
Thy labours Knowles are great, far greater hee,
Not onely thee, but all his valiant made,
Forth sinfull dust, his Saints and Warriars be;
He thee upheld, thy strength shall never fade.
John come thou forth, behold what Christ hath wrought
In these thy dayes, great works are yet behinde,
Then toyle it out till all to passe be brought,
Christ crowne will thee, thou then his glory minde.*

To end this yeare 1639. the Lord was pleased to send a very sharp winter, and more especially in strong forms of weekly snows, with very bitter blasts: And here the Reader may take notice of the sad hand of the Lord against two persons, who

were taken in a storme of snow, as they were passing from *Boston* to *Roxbury*, it being much about a mile distant, and a very plaine way, One of *Roxbury* sending to *Boston* his servant maid for a Barber-Chirurgion, to draw his tooth, they lost their way in their passage between, and were not found till many dayes after, and then the maid was found in one place, and the man in another, both of them frozen to death; in which sad accident, this was taken into consideration by divers people, that this Barber was more then ordinary laborious to draw men to those sinfull Errors, that were formerly so frequent, and now newly overthrowne by the blessing of the Lord, upon the endeavour of his faithfull servants with the word of truth) he having a fit opportunity, by reason of his trade, so soone as any were set downe in his chaire, he would commonly be cutting of their haire and the truth together; notwithstanding some report better of the man, the example is for the living, the dead is judged of the Lord alone.

CHAP. XVI.

*The great supply of godly Ministers for the good of his
People in New England.*

FOR to govern and rule this little Common wealth, was this year chosen the valiant Champion, for the advance of Christs truh, *Thomas Dudley* Esq. and *Richard Bellingham* Esq. Deputy-Governour; the freemen added to the former were about 192. this yeare the reverend Mr. *Burr* (a holy, heavenly-minded man, and able gifted to preach the Word of God) was exercised therein for some space of time, in the Church of Christ at *Dorchester*, where they were about calling him to the office of a teaching Elder; but in a very little time after his coming over he departed this life, yet minde him you may in the following Meetre

W^{ELL} didst thou minde thy work, which caus'd thee venter
(Through Ocean large) thy Christ in's Word to preach,
Exhorting

*Exhorting all their faith on him to center,
 Soules ravisht are by him in thy sweet speech,
 Thy speech bewrayes thy heart for heaven doth look,
 Christ to enjoy, Burr from the earth is taken,
 Thy words remaine, though thou hast us forsook,
 In dust sleep sound till Christ thy body waken.*

There are divers others of the faithfull Ministers of Christ that came over for to further this his work; somewhat before this time, as the godly and reverend Mr. *Rayner*, who was called to office in the Church of Christ at *Plimoth*, and there remains preaching the Word instantly, with great paines and care over that flock, as also the reverend and faithfull servant of Christ Jesus, Mr. *William Hook*, who was for some space of time at the Church in *Taunton*, but now remains called to office in the Church of Christ at *Newhaven*, a man, who hath received of Christ many gracious gifts, fit for so high a calling, with a very amiable and gracious speech labouring in the Lord; and here also the Reader may minde how the Lord was pleased to reach out his large hand of bounty toward his *N. England* people, in supplying them abundantly with Teachers, able and powerfull to break the bread of life unto them, so long as their desires continued hot and zealous; but after here grew a fulnesse in some, even to flight, if not loath the honey comb; many returned for *England*, and the Lord was pleased to take away others by death, although very few, considering the number; but let *N. England* beware of an after-clap, & provoke the Lord no longer. But seeing this yeare proved the last of the yeares of transportation of God's people, only for enjoyment of exercising the Ordinances of Christ, and enlargement of his Kingdome (there being hopes of great good opportunity that way at home) it will be expedient onely to name some others in the Southwest parts, among the lesser Colonies, and so passe on to the story: And first, not to forget the reverend Mr. *Eaton*, a man of love and peace, and yet godly zealous, he came over with those who planted the Colony of *Newhaven*, spending his labours in the Lord with them in *Plimoth* Plantation: also here is to be minded the reverend Mr. *Chancie*, a very able Preacher, both learned and judicious; as also

the reverend, able, and pious M. *Huet*, who came over this year, or rather, as I suppose, the yeare before, who did spend his time and labour with a people that came over with him; at length the greatest part of them they settled downe in the Government of *Caneſſicoe*, where they planted the Towne of *Windſor*, and Church of Christ there, where this gracious servant of Christ continued in his labours, till the Lord laid him in his bed of rest: somewhat before this time came over the reverend Mr. *Smith*, being another of that name, beside the former, he laboured in the Word and Doctrine with a people at *Withersfield* in those parts also; Mr. *Henry Whitefield*, another Minister of the Gospel of Christ, of reverend respect, who being returned for *England*, the latter of his labours, the Lord assisting, will sufficiently testify his sincerity, for the truth and labours of love in the Lord: here may also be named the reverend Mr. *Peck*, Mr. *Saxton*, and Mr. *Lenten*, the residue will be spoken of in the ensuing story to those that yet remaine. Of these persons named the Author doth tender this following Meetre.

When reasons Scepter first 'gan sway your hearts,
 Through troublous Seas, this Western world to enter
 Among Christs Souldiers, here to aet your parts;
 Did not Christs love on you cause him to center?
 All those strait lines of your inflam'd desire
 Unto his truths, 'cause him in them you finde;
 From wildernesse, not from his truths retire;
 But unto death this wonderous work you'l minde,
 No place can claime peculiar interest in
 Christs worship, for all nations are his own;
 The day's at hand down falls that man of sin,
 And Christs pure Gospel through the world is blown;
 Harvest is come, bid ease and sleep adieu,
 What, trifle time when Christ takes in his Crop?
 A Harvest large of Gentil and of Jew
 (You fil'd of Christ, let his sweet Doctrine drop.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the planting of Long-Island. And of the planting the nineteenth Church in the Mattachusets government, called Sudbury.

THIS yeare came over divers godly and sincere servants of Christ, as I suppose, among whom came over the reverend godly M. *Peirson*: This people finding no place in any of the former erected Colonies to settle in, to their present content, repaired to an Island, severed from the continent of *Newhaven*, with about 16. miles off the salt Sea, and called *Long-Island*, being about 120. miles in length, and yet but narrow: here this people erected a Town, and called it *South Hampton*, there are many Indians on the greatest part of this Island, who at first settling of the English there, did much annoy their Cattel with the multitude of Doggs they kept, which ordinarily are young wolves brought up tame, continuing of a very ravening nature. This people gathered into a Church, and called to office Mr. *Peirson*, who continued with them about 7, or 8. yeares, and then he, with the greatest number of the people, removed farther into the Island; the other part that remained invited Mr. *Foordum*, and a people that were with him, to come and joyne with them, who accordingly did, being wandered as far as the Dutch plantation, and there unsettled, although he came into the Country before them.

This yeare the Town and Church of Christ at *Sudbury* began to have the first foundation stones laid, taking up her station in the Inland Country, as her elder Sister Concord had formerly done, lying farther up the same River, being furnished with great plenty of fresh marsh, but it lying very low is much indamaged with land-floods, insomuch that when the summer proves wet, they lose part of their hay; yet are they so sufficiently provided, that they take in Cattell of other Townes to winter: these people not neglecting the chief work, for the which they entred this wilderness, namely, to worship the Lord in the purity of his Ordinances, and according to the rule of his Word, entred into covenant with him, and one with another professedly to walk together in Church-fellowship; and according to the same

same rule they called to the office of a Pastor the reverend, godly, and able Minister of the Word, Mr. *Edmond Brown*, whose labours in the Doctrine of Christ Jesus hath hitherto abounded, wading through this wilder nesse-work with much cheerfulness of spirit, of whom as followeth:

B*Oth night and day Brown ceaseth not to watch
 Christs little flock, in pastures fresh them feed,
 The worrying wolves shall not thy weak lambs catch;
 Well dost thou minde in wilder nesse their breed;
 Edmond, thy age is not so great but thou
 Maist yet behold the Beast brought to her fall,
 Earth's tottering Kingdome shew her legs gin bow,
 Thou 'mongst Christs Saints with prayers maist her mawle;
 What signes wouldst have faith's courage for to rouse?
 See Christ triumphant hath his armies led,
 In wilder nesse prepar'd his lovely Spouse,
 Caus'd Kings and Kingdomes his high hand to dread:
 Thou seest his Churches daily are encreasing,
 And thou thy selfe amongst his worthyes warring,
 Hold up thy hands, the battel's now increasing,
 Christ's Kingdom's ay, it's past all mortall's marring.*

This Towne is very well watered, and hath store of plow-land, but by reason of the oaken roots, they have little broke up, considering the many Acres the place affords; but this kinde of land requires great strength to break up, yet brings very good crops, and lasts long without mending; the people are industrious, and have encreased in their estates, some of them, yet the great distance it lyes from the Mart Towns maketh it burdensome to the Inhabitants, to bring their corne so far by land; some Gentlemen have here laid out part of their estates in procuring farmes, by reason of the store of medow: this Church hath hitherto been blessed with blessings of the right hand, even godly peace and unity: they are not above 50. or 60. families, and about 80. souls in Church-fellowship, their Neat-heard about 300.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the planting of the twentieth Church of Christ at a Towne called Braintree.

ABOUT this time there was a Town and Church planted at *Mount Wollestone*, and named *Braintree*, it was occasioned by some old planters and certain Farmers belonging to the great Town of *Boston*; they had formerly one Mr. *Whelewright* to preach unto them, (till this Government could no longer contain them) they many of them in the mean time belonging to the Church of Christ at *Boston*, but after his departure they gathered into a Church themselves; having some enlargement of Land, they began to be well peopled, calling to office among them, the reverend and godly Mr. *William Tompson*, and Mr. *Henry Flint*, the one to the office of a Pastor, the other of a Teacher; the people are purged by their industry from the sower leaven of those sinful opinions that began to spread, and if any remain among them it is very covert, yet the manner of these Erronists that remain in any place, is to countenance all sorts of sinful opinions, as occasions serves, both in Church and Commonwealth, under pretence of Liberty of Conscience, (as well their own opinion as others) by this Symbol they may be known in Court and Country. This Town hath great store of Land in tillage, and is at present in a very thriving condition for outward things, although some of *Boston* retain their Farms from being of their Town, yet do they lye within their bounds, and how it comes to pass I know not; their officers have somewhat short allowance, they are well stored with cattel and corn, and as a people receives, so should they give: And Reader, I cannot but mind thee of the admirable providence of Christ for his people in this, where they have been in a low condition, by their liberality they have been raised to much in a very little time: And again, in withdrawing their hands have had their plenty blasted: The reverend Mr. *Tompson* is a man abounding in zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, and of an ardent affection, inasmuch that he is apt to forget himself in things that

concern his own good, both him, and the like gracious M. *Flint* is here remembred.

W*ith twofold cord doth Flint and Tompson draw
In Christ's yoke, his fallow ground to break,
Wounding mens hearts with his most righteous Law,
Cordials apply to weary souls and weak.*

*Tompson thou hast Christ's folk incouraged
To war, their warfare putting them in mind,
That Christ their King will make his sons the dread,
The day's at hand when they shall mastery find.*

*Flint be a second to this Champion stout,
In Christ's your strength, while you for him do war,
When first doth faint, a second helps him out,
Till Christ renew with greater strength by far.
From East to West your labours lasted have,
The more you toil, the more your strength encreaseth,
Your works will bide, when you are laid in grave,
His truth advance, whose Kingdom never ceaseth.*

CHAP. XIX.

Of the first promotion of learning in New-England, and the extraordinary providences that the Lord was pleased to send for furthering of the same.

Toward the latter end of this Summer came over the learned reverend, and judicious Mr. *Henry Dunster*, before whose coming the Lord was pleased to provide a Patron for erecting a Colledg, as you have formerly heard, his provident hand being now no less powerful in pointing out with his unerring finger, a president abundantly fitted this his servant, and sent him over for to manage the work; and as in all the other passages of this history, the Wonder-working Providence of *Sions* Saviour hath appeared, so more especially in this work, the Fountains of learning being in a great measure stopped in our Native Country at this time, so that the sweet waters of *Shilo's* streams must ordinarily pass into the

the Churches through the stinking channel of prelatical pride, beside all the filth that the fountains themselves were daily incumbred withall, infomuch that the Lord turned aside often from them, and refused the breathings of his blessed Spirit among them, which caused Satan (in these latter daies of his transformation into an Angel of light) to make it a means to perswade people from the use of learning altogether, that so in the next generation they might be destitute of such helps, as the Lord hath been pleased hitherto to make use of, as chief means for the conversion of his people, and building them up in the holy faith, as also for breaking downe the Kingdom of Antichrist; and verily had not the Lord been pleased to furnish *N. E.* with means for the attainment of learning, the work would have been carried on very heavily, and the hearts of godly parents would have vanish'd away with heaviness for their poor children, whom they must have left in a desolate wilderness, destitute of the meanes of grace.

It being a work (in the apprehension of all, whose capacity could reach to the great sums of money, the edifice of a mean Colledge would cost) past the reach of a poor Pilgrim people, who had expended the greatest part of their estates on a long voyage, travelling into Forraign Countryes, being unprofitable to any that have undertaken it, although it were but with their necessary attendance, whereas this people were forced to travel with wives, children, and servants; besides they considered the treble charge of building in this new populated desart, in regard of all kind of workmanship, knowing likewise, that young Students could make but a poor progress in learning, by looking on the bare walls of their chambers, and that *Diogenes* would have the better of them by far, in making use of a Tun to lodg in, not being ignorant also, that many people in this age are out of conceit with learning, and that although they were not among a people who counted ignorance the mother of devotion, yet were the greater part of the people wholly devoted to the Plow, (but to speak uprightly, hunger is sharp, and the head will retain little learning, if the heart be not refreshed

in some competent measure with food, although the grofs vapors of a glutted stomach are the bane of a bright understanding, and brings barrenness to the brain) but how to have both go on together, as yet they know not; amidst all these difficulties, it was thought meet learning should plead for it self, and (as many other men of good rank and quality in this barren desert) plod out a way to live: Hereupon all those who had tasted the sweet wine of Wifdoms drawing, and fed on the dainties of knowledg, began to set their wits a work, and verily as the whole progress of this work had a farther dependency then on the present eyed means, so at this time chiefly the end being firmly fixed on a sure foundation, namely, the glory of God, and good of all his elect people, the world throughout, in vindicating the truths of Christ, and promoting his glorious Kingdom, who is now taking the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost ends of the earth for his possession, means they know there are, many thousands uneyed of mortal man, which every daies Providence brings forth; upon these resolutions, to work they go, and with thankful acknowledgment, readily take up all lawful means as they come to hand, for place they fix their eye upon *New-Town*, which to tell their Posterity whence they came, is now named *Cambridg*, and withal to make the whole world understand, that spiritual learning was the thing they chiefly desired, to sanctifie the other, and make the whole lump holy, and that learning being set upon its right object, might not contend for error instead of truth; they chose this place, being then under the Orthodox, and soul-flourishing Ministry of Mr. *Thomas Shepheard*, of whom it may be said, without any wrong to others, the Lord by his Ministry hath saved many a hundred soul: The scituation of this Colledg is very pleasant, at the end of a spacious plain, more like a bowling green, then a Wilderness, neer a fair navigable river, environed with many Neighbouring Towns of note, being so neer, that their houses joyn with her Suburbs, the building thought by some to be too gorgeous for a Wilderness, and yet too mean in others apprehensions for a Colledg, it is at present enlarging by purchase of the neighbour houses, it hath the

the conveniencies of a fair Hall, comfortable Studies, and a good Library, given by the liberal hand of some Magistrates and Ministers, with others: The chief gift towards the founding of this Colledg, was by Mr. *John Harnes*, a reverend Minister, the Country being very weak in their publike Treasury, expended about 500. l. towards it, and for the maintenance thereof, gave the yearly revenue of a Ferry passage between *Boston* and *Charles Town*, the which amounts to about 40. or 50. l. *per annum*. The Commissioners of the four united Colonies also taking into consideration, (of what common concernment this work would be, not only to the whole plantations in general, but also to all our English Nation) they endeavoured to stir up all the people in the severall Colonies to make a yearly contribution toward it, which by some is observed, but by the most very much neglected; the Government hath endeavoured to grant them all the priviledges fit for a Colledg, and accordingly the Governour and Magistrates, together with the President of the Colledg, for the time being, have a continual care of ordering all matters for the good of the whole: This Colledg hath brought forth, and nursed up very hopeful plants, to the supplying some Churches here, as the gracious and godly Mr. *Wilson*, son to the grave and zealous servant of Christ Mr. *John Wilson*, this young man is Pastor to the Church of Christ at *Dorchester*; as also Mr. *Buckly*, son to the reverend M. *Buckly* of Concord; as also a second son of his, whom our Native Country hath now at present help in the Ministry, and the other is over a people of Christ in one of these Colonies, and if I mistake not, *England* hath I hope not only this young man of *N. E.* nurturing up in learning, but many more, as M. *Sam.* and *Nathanael Mathers*, Mr. *Wells*, Mr. *Downing*, Mr. *Barnard*, Mr. *Alin*, Mr. *Bruster*, Mr. *VWilliam Ames*, Mr. *Iones*: Another of the first fruits of this Colledg is employed in these Western parts in *Mevis*, one of the summer Islands; beside these named, some help hath been had from hence in the study of Physick, as also the godly Mr. *Sam. Danforth*, who hath not only studied Divinity, but also Astronomy, he put forth many Almanacks, and is now called to the office of a teaching Elder in the

the Church of Christ at *Roxbury*, who was one of the fellows of this Colledg; the number of Students is much encreased of late, so that the present year 1651. on the twelfth of the sixth moneth, ten of them took the degree of Batchelors of Art, among whom the Sea-born son of Mr. *John Cotton* was one, some Gentlemen have sent their sons hither from *England*, who are to be commended for their care of them, as the judicious and godly Doctor *Ames*, and divers others: This hath been a place certainly more free from temptations to lewdness, then ordinarily *England* hath been, yet if men shall presume upon this to send their most exorbitant children intending them more especially for Gods service, the Justice of God doth sometimes meet with them, and the means doth more harden them in their way, for of late the godly Governors of this Colledg have been forced to expell some, for fear of corrupting the Fountain, wherefore the Author would ye should mind this following verse.

Y*OU that have seen these wondrous works by Sions Savior don,
Expect not miracle, lest means thereby you over-run;
The noble Acts Jehovah wrought, his Israel to redeem,
Surely this second work of his shall far more glorious seem;
Not only Egypt, but all Lands, where Antichrist doth reign,
Shall from Jehovahs heavy hand ten times ten plagues sustain:
Bright shining shall this Gospel come, Oh glorious King of Saints,
Thy blessed breath confounds thy foes, all mortal power faints,
The ratling bones together run with self-same breath that blows,
Of Israels sons long dead and dry, each joynt their sinew grows,
Fair flesh doth cover them, & veins (lifes fountain) takes there place.
Smooth seamless coats doth cloath their flesh, and all their structure grace.
The breath of Life is added, they no Antinomians are,
But loving him who gives them life, more zealous are by far
To keep his Law, then formerly when righteousnesse they sought,
In keeping that they could not keep, which then their downfal brought.
Their ceremonies vanisht are, on Christ's all their desires,
Their zeal all Nations doth provoke, inkindled are loves fires:*

VWith

*V*With hast on horseback, bringing home their sons & daughters, they

Rejoyce to see this glorious sight, like Resurrections day;

*V*p and be doing, you young plants, *Christ calls his work unto*

Polluted lips, touch'd with heav'n's fire, about this work shall go.

Prostrate in prayer parents, and you young ones on Christ call,

Suppose of you he will make use, whereby that beast shall fall:

So be it Lord thy servants say, who are at thy disposing, (closing.

*V*With outward word work inward grace, by heavenly truths dis-
Awake stand up from death to life, in Christ your studies enter,

*The Scriptures search, bright light bring forth, upon this hardship
venter.*

Sound doctrine shall your lips preach out, all errors to confound

And rid Christ's Temple from this smoke, his glory shall abound;

Precipitant doth Dagon fall, his triple head off cut,

The Beast that all the world admires, by you to death is put:

*Put hand to mouth, with vehement blast your silver Trumpets
sound,*

*Christ calls to mind his peoples wrongs, their foes hee'l now con-
found:*

Be strong in God, and his great might, his wondrous works do tell,

You raised are unwonted ways, observe his workings well.

As Jordans streams congeal'd in heaps, and Jerico's high walls

*With Rams horns blast, and Midians Host, with pitcher breaking
falls;*

Like works your faith, for to confirm in these great works to come,

That nothing now too hard may seem, Jehovah would have don.

The rage of Seas, and hunger sharp, wants of a desert Land,

Your noble hearts have overcom, what shall this work withstand?

Not persecutors pride and rage, strong multitudes do fall,

By little handfuls of least dust, your Christ confounds them all;

Not Satan and his subtil train with seeming shew reforming,

Another Gospel to bring forth, brings damned errors swarming:

Your selves have seen his paint washt off, his hidden poysons found,

Christ you provides with Antidotes, to keep his people sound:

*There's nought remains but conquest now, through Christ's conti-
nued power,*

His hardest works have honors most attend them every hour.

*V*What greater honor then on earth, *Christ's Legat for to be,*

Attended with his glorious Saints in Church fraternity.

Christ

— Christ to behold adorning now his Bride in bright array,
 And you his friends him to attend upon his Nuptial day,
 With crowned heads, as Conquerors triumphant by his side;
 In's presence is your lasting joy, and pleasures ever bide.

Mr. *Henry Dunstar* is now Prefident of this Colledg, fitted from the Lord for the work, and by those that have skill that way, reported to be an able Proficient, in both Hebrew, Greek, and Latine languages, an Orthodox Preacher of the truths of Christ, very powerful through his blessing to move the affection; and besides he having a good inspection into the well-ordering of things for the Students maintenance (whose commons hath been very short hitherto) by his frugal providence hath continued them longer at their Studies then otherwise they could have done; and verily it's great pity such ripe heads as many of them be, should want means to further them in learning: But seeing the Lord hath been pleased to raise up so worthy an instrument for their good, he shall not want for encouragement to go on with the work, so far as a rustical rime will reach.

Could man presage prodigious works at hand,
 Provide he would for's good and ill prevent,
 But God both time and means hath at's command,
 Dunster in time to his N. E. hath sent.
 When England 'gan to keep at home their guides,
 N. E. began to pay their borrowed back,
 Industrious Dunster, providence provides,
 Our friends supply, and yet our selves no lack:
 With restless labour thou dost delve and dung,
 Surculus set in garden duly tended,
 That in Christs Orchard they with fruit full hung,
 May bless the Lord, thy toil gone, them expended,
 Thy constant course proves retrograde in this,
 From West to East thy toil returns again,
 Thy husbandry by Christ so honored is,
 That all the world partaketh of thy pains.

CHAP. XX.

Of the planting of the one and twentieth Church of Christ at a Town called Glocester, and of the Church and Town of Dover, and of the hardships that befel a certain people, who thirsted after large liberty in a warm Country.

FOR the Government of this little Commonwealth, this year was chosen for Governour *Richard Belingham*, Esquire, and *John Endicut* Esquire for Governors; the number of Freemen added this year, were about 503.

There was another Town and Church of Christ erected in the *Mattachuset* Government, upon the *Northern-Cape* of the *Bay*, called *Cape Ann*, a place of fishing, being peopled with Fishermen, till the reverend Mr. *Richard Blindman* came from a place in *Plimouth Patten*, called *Green-Harbor*, with some few people of his acquaintance, and settled down with them, named the Town *Glocester*, and gathered into a Church, being but a small number, about fifty persons, they called to office this godly reverend man, whose gifts and abilities to handle the word, is not inferiour to many others, labouring much against the errors of the times, of a sweet, humble, heavenly carriage: This Town lying out toward the point of the *Cape*, the access thereunto by Land becomes uneasy, which was the chief cause it was no more populated: Their fishing trade would be very beneficial, had they men of estates to mannage it; yet are they not without other means of maintenance, having good timber for shipping, and a very sufficient builder, but that these times of combustion the Seas throughout hath hindered much that work, yet have there been Vessels built here at this Town of late: Their reverend Elder is here remembered.

THOU hast thy prime and middle age here spent,
The best is not too good for him that gave it,
When thou did'st first this WilderNESS frequent,
For Sions sake it was, that Christ might save it.

Z

Blindman

Blinman be blith in him, who thee hath taken
 To feed his Flock, a few poor scattered sheep,
 Why should they be of thee at all forfaken,
 Thy honor's high, that any thou may'ft keep.
 Wait patiently thy Masters coming, thou
 Haft hitherto his peoples portions dealt,
 It matters not for high preferment; now
 Thy crown's to come, with joyes immortal felt.

About this time the people inhabiting the Town of *Dover*, although they lay out of any of these Colonies mentioned (yet hearing and seeing with what sweet harmony, both in Churches and civil Government, the *Mattachusets* peopled patten was carried on prosperously) desired greatly to submit unto the same, by putting themselves under their protection; and for that end they petitioned their General *Cort* to admit of them, and administer Justice as occasion served, by the hands of their godly Magistrates, which accordingly was granted, and they have been partakers of the benefit hitherto, having also the benefit of some one Minister to preach unto them, till it pleased God to fit stones by the continual hewing of his word for his Temple-work, and they gather a Church according to the rule of the word, and called to office of a Pastor one *M. Maude*, both godly, both godly and diligent in the work: This Town is scituate upon *Puscataque* river, lying to the Northeast of *Boston*, which river, although it be not nigh so broad as *Merrinaeck* river, yet is it navigable, being very deep, and her banks in many places fil'd with stately timber, which hath caused one or two Saw-Mills to be continued; there they have a good quantity of Meddow Land, and good ground for *India* corn. To end this year 1641. the Lord was pleased to send a very sharp Winter, insomuch that the Harbor where Ships ordinarily Anchor, was frozen over of such a thicknes, that it became passeable, both for horse, carts, and oxen, for the space of five weeks. And here the Reader must be minded of the wonder-working providence of Christ for his poor Churches, in altering the very season for their comfort, to the wonder of *English* and *Indians*,

ans, the Winter and Summer proving more moderate, both for heat and cold, unmasking many by this means, it being a frequent thing with some, that after the novelties of a new land began to be stale with them, and the sweet nourishment of the soul by the presence of Christ in the preaching of his Word, began to dry up through the hot heady conceit of some new conceived opinion: Then they wanted a warmer country, and every Northwest wind that blew, they crept into some odd chimney-corner or other, to discourse of the diversity of Climates in the Southerne parts, but chiefly of a thing very sweet to the pallate of the flesh, called liberty, which they supposed might be very easily attain'd, could they but once come into a place where all men were chosen to the office of a Magistrate, and all were preachers of the Word, and no hearers, then it would be all Summer and no Winter: This consultation was to be put in practise speedily, as all headstrong motions are, but the issue proved very sad, both to these and others also; for thus it befell, when the time of the year was come that a sea-voyage might be undertaken, they having made sale of a better accommodation then any they could afterward attain unto, prepare for the voyage with their wives and children, intending to land them in one of the Summer Islands, called the Isle of Providence, and having wind and seas favouring them, as they supposed, or to speak more proper, the provident hand of the most high God directing it, they were brought so neer the shore for convenient landing, that they might have heaved a Bisket cake on land; their Pilate wondring he could not see the English colours on the Fort, he began to mistrust the Island was taken, and more especially, because they saw not the people appear upon the shores as they usually did when any Vessel was a coming in, but now and then they saw some people a far off wafting to them to come in, till they were even come to an Anchor, and then by the hoising up and down the heads of those on shore, they were fully confirmed in it, that the Island was taken, as indeed it was by the *Spaniards*, who as soone as they tackt about to be gone, made shot at them, and being in great fear they made all the sail they could, but before they could get out of shot, the Master of the Vessel was slain, the

main fail shot through, and the Barque also; the people some of them returned back again for *New-England*, being sore abashed at this providence that befel them, that they would never seek to be governed by liberty again to this very day; yet others there are were so strongly bent for the heat of liberty, that they indured much pinching penury upon an uninhabited Island, til at length meeting some others like-minded with themselves, they made a voyage to another Island, the chiefest part of their Charter of Freedom was this, That no man upon pain of death should speak against anothers Religion where they continued, till some of them were famished, and others even forced to feed on Rats, and any other thing they could find to sustain nature, till the provident hand of God brought a Ship to the place, which took them off the Island, and saved their lives: But upon this the Winters discourse ceased, and projects for a warmer Country were hushd and done.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the suddain and unexpected fall of Cattel, and the great blessing of God in giving plenty of provision.

FOR this year 1642. *John Winthrope* Esquire was chosen Governour, and *John Endicut* Esquire Deputy Governor: The number of Freemen added were about 1232. This Spring Cowes and Cattle of that kind (having continued at an excessive price so long as any came over with estates to purchase them) fell of a suddain in one week from 22 l. the Cow, to 6. 7. or 8. l. the Cow at most, infomuch that it made all men admire how it came to pass, it being the common practise of those that had any store of Cattel, to sell every year a Cow or two, which cloath'd their backs, fill'd their bellies with more varieties then the Country of it self afforded, and put gold and silver in their purses beside. Here the Reader is desired to take notice of the wonderful providence of the most high God toward these his new-planted Churches, such as was never heard of, since that *Iacobs* sons ceased to be a
 people,

people, that in ten or twelve years planting, there should be such wonderful alteration, a Nation to be born in a day, a Commonwealth orderly brought forth from a few Fugitives, all the Forraign plantations that are of forty, fifty, or a hundred years standing, cannot really report the like, although they have had the greatest encouragements earth could afford, Kings to countenance them, staple commodities to provoke all manner of Merchants to resort unto them, silver, gold, precious stones, or whatever might intice the eye or ear to incline the motion of man toward them, his remote, rocky, barren, bushy, wild-woody wilderness, a receptacle for Lions, Wolves, Bears, Foxes, Rockoones, Bags, Bevers, Otters, and all kind of wild creatures, a place that never afforded the Natives better then the flesh of a few wild creatures and parch't Indian corn incht out with Chesnuts and bitter Acorns, now through the mercy of Christ becom a second *England* for fertlness in so short a space, that it is indeed the wonder of the world; but being already forgotten of the very persons that tast of it at present, although some there be that keep in memory his mercies multitude, and declare it to their childrens children.

First to begin with the encrease of food, you have heard in what extreame penury these people were in at first, planting for want of food, gold, silver, rayment, or whatsoever was precious in their eyes they parted with (when ships came in) for this their beast that died, some would sticke before they were cold, and sell their poor pined flesh for food, at 6. d. *per* pound, Indian Beans at 16. s. *per* bushel, when Ships came in, it grieved some Master to see the urging of them by people of good rank and quality to sell bread unto them. But now take notice how the right hand of the most high hath altered all, and men of the meaner rank are urging them to buy bread of them, and now good white and wheaten bread is no dainty, but even ordinary man hath his choice, if gay cloathing, and a liquerish tooth after sack, sugar, and plums lick not away his bread too fast, all which are but ordinary among those that were not able to bring their owne persons over at their first coming; there are not many Towns in the Country, but the poorest person in them hath a house and land of his own,
and

and bread of his own growing, if not some cattel: beside, flesh is now no rare food, beef, pork, and mutton being frequent in many houfes, fo that this poor Wildernefs hath not onely equalized *England* in food, but goes beyoud it in fome places for the great plenty of wine and fugar, which is ordinarily fpent, apples, pears, and quince tarts instead of their former Pumpkin Pies, Poultry they have plenty, and great rarity, and in their feasts have not forgotten the English fashion of stirring up their appetites with variety of cooking their food; and notwithstanding all this great and almost miraculous work of the Lord, in providing for his people in this barren defart, yet are there here (as in other places) fome that use thefe good creatures of God to excefs, and others to hoard up in a wretched and miserable manner, pinch themselves and their children with food, and will not tast of the good creatures God hath given for that end, but cut Church and Commonwealth as fhort also: Let not fuch think to efcape the Lords hand with as little a ftroke, as the like do in other places.

Secondly, For rayment, our cloth hath not been cut fhort, as but of late years the traders that way have encreafed to fuch a number, that their fhops have continued full all the year long, all one *England*; besides the Lord hath been pleased to encrease sheep extraordinarily of late, hemp and flax here is great plenty, hides here are more for the number of perfons then in *England*; and for cloth, here is and would be materials enough to make it; but the Farmers deem it better for their profit to put away their cattel and corn for cloathing, then to fet upon making of cloth; if the Merchants trade be not kept on foot, they fear greatly their corne and cattel will lye in their hands: affuredly the plenty of cloathing hath caufed much excefs of late in thofe perfons, who have clambered with excefs in wages for their work, but feeing it will be the theam of our next difcourfe, after the birds are fetled, it may be here omitted.

Further, the Lord hath been pleased to turn all the wigwams, huts, and hovels the English dwelt in at their first coming, into orderly, fair, and well-built houfes, well furnished
many

many of them, together with Orchards filled with goodly fruit trees, and gardens with variety of flowers: There are supposed to be in the *Mattachusetts* Government at this day, near a thousand acres of land planted for Orchards and Gardens, besides their fields are filled with garden fruit, there being, as is supposed in this Colony, about fifteen thousand acres in tillage, and of cattel about twelve thousand neat, and about three thousand sheep: Thus hath the Lord encouraged his people with the encrease of the general, although many particulars are outed, hundreds of pounds, and some thousands, yet are there many hundreds of labouring men, who had not enough to bring them over, yet now worth scores, and some hundreds of pounds; to be sure the Lord takes notice of all his talents, and will call to accompt in time: This brief survey of things will be of good use when time serves, in mean time you shall understand,

CHAP. XXII.

Of the manner of planting Towns and Churches in N. E. and in particular of the Church and Town at Wooburn, being the three and twentieth Church of Christ in the Massachusetts Government.

There was a Town and Church erected called *Wooburn*, this present year, but because all the action of this wandering people meet with great variety of censures, the Author will in this Town and Church set down the manner how this people have populated their Towns, and gathered their Churches, that the reverend Mr. *Rathbone* may be better informed, then when he wrote his book concerning the Churches of *N. E.* and all others that are experienced in the holy Scriptures, may lay the actions of *N. E.* to the Rule, and try them by the balance of the Sanctuary, for assuredly they greatly desire they may be brought to the light, for great is the truth, and will prevail, yet have they their errings as well as others, but yet their imperfections may not blemish the truths of Christ, let them be glorified, and these his people will willingly

lingly take shame to themselves, wherein they have miscarried: But to begin, this Town, as all others had its bounds fixed by the General Court, to the conteneſe of four miles ſquare, (beginning at the end of *Charles Town* bounds) the grant is to ſeven men or good and honeſt report, upon condition, that within two year they erect houſes for habitation thereon, and ſo go on to make a Town thereof, upon the Act of Court; theſe ſeven men have power to give and grant out lands unto any perſons who are willing to take up their dwellings within the ſaid precinct, & to be admitted to al common priviledges of the ſaid Town, giving them ſuch an ample portion, both of Medow and Upland, as their preſent and future ſtock of cattel and hands were like to improve, with eye had to others that might after come to populate the ſaid Town; this they did without any reſpect of perſons, yet ſuch as were exorbitant, and of a turbulent ſpirit, unfit for a civil ſociety they would reject, till they come to mend their manners, ſuch came not to enjoy any freehold: Theſe ſeven men ordered and diſpoſed of the ſtreets of the Town, as might be beſt for improvement of the Land, and yet civil and religious ſociety maintained; to which end thoſe that had land neereſt the place for Sabbath Aſſembly, had a leſſer quantity at home, and more farther off to improve for corn, of all kinds; they reſuſed not men for their poverty, but according to their ability were helpful to the pooreſt ſort, in building their houſes, and diſtributed to them land accordingly; the pooreſt had ſix or ſeven acres of Medow, and twenty five of Upland, or thereabouts: Thus was this Town populated, to the number of ſixty families, or thereabout, and after this manner are the Towns of *New England* peopled, the ſituation of this Town is in the higheſt part of the yet peopled land, neere upon the head-ſprings of many conſiderable rivers, or their branches, as the firſt riſe of *Ipfwitch* river, and the riſe of *Shaſhin* river, one of the moſt conſiderable branches of *Merri-meck*, as alſo the firſt riſe of *Miſtick* river and ponds, it is very full of pleaſant ſprings, and great variety of very good water, which the Summers heat cauſeth to be more cooler, and the Winters cold maketh more warmer; their Medows are

are not large, but lye in divers places to particular dwellings, the like doth their Springs; their Land is very fruitful in many places, although they have no great quantity of plain land in any one place, yet doth their Rocks and Swamps yeeld very good food for cattel; as also they have Mast and Tar for shipping, but the distance of place by land causeth them as yet to be unprofitable, they have great store of iron o're, their meeting-house stands in a small Plain, where four streets meet, the people are very laborious, if not exceeding some of them.

Now to declare how this people proceeded in religious matters, and so consequently all the Churches of Christ planted in *New-England*, when they came once to hopes of being such a competent number of people, as might be able to maintain a Minister, they then surely seated themselves, and not before, it being as unnatural for a right *N. E.* man to live without an able Ministry, as for a Smith to work his iron without a fire; therefore this people that went about placing down a Town, began the foundation-stone, with earnest seeking of the Lords assistance, by humbling of their souls before him in daies of prayer, and imploring his aid in so weighty a work, then they address themselves to attend counsel of the most Orthodox and ablest Christians, and more especially of such as the Lord had already placed in the Ministry, not rashly running together themselves into a Church, before they had hopes of attaining an Officer to preach the Word, and administer the Seals unto them, chosing rather to continue in fellowship with some other Church for their Christian watch over them, till the Lord would be pleased to provide: They after some search meet with a young man named Mr. *Thomas Carter*, then belonging to the Church of Christ at *Water-Town*, a reverend godly man, apt to teach the sound and wholesome truths of Christ; having attained their desires, in hopes of his coming unto them, were they once joyned in Church-estate, he exercising his gifts of preaching and prayer among them in the mean time, and more especially in a day of fasting and prayer. Thus these godly people interest their affections one with the other, both Minister and people: Af-

ter this they make ready for the work, and the 24. of the 6. moneth 1642. they assemble together in the morning about eight of the clock; After the reverend Mr. *Syms* had continued in preaching and prayer about the space of four or five houres, the persons that were to joyn in Covenant, openly and professedly before the Congregation, and messengers of divers Neighbour Churches, among whom the reverend Elder of *Boston*, Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *VWilson*, Mr. *Allen* of *Charles-Town*, Mr. *Shepherd* of *Cambridg*, Mr. *Dunster* of *VWater-Town*, Mr. *Knowles* of *Deadham*, Mr. *Allen* of *Roxbury*, Mr. *Eliot* of *Dorchester*, Mr. *Mather*: As also it is the duty of the Magistrates (in regard of the good and peace of the civil Government) to be present, at least some one of them (not only to prevent the disturbance might follow in the Commonwealth by any, who under pretence of Church-Covenant, might bring in again those cursed opinions that caused such commotion in this and the other Colony, to the great damage of the people) but also to countenance the people of God in so pious a work, that under them they may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty; for this cause was present the honored Mr. *Increase Nowel*, the persons stood forth and first confessed what the Lord had done for their poor souls, by the work of his Spirit in the preaching of his Word, and Providences, one by one; (and that all might know their faith in Christ was bottomed upon him, as he is revealed in his Word, and that from their own knowledg) they also declare the same, according to that measure of understanding the Lord had given them; the Elders, or any other messengers there present question with them, for the better understanding of them in any points they doubt of, which being done, and all satisfied, they in the name of the Churches to which they do belong, hold out the right hand of fellowship unto them, they declaring their Covenant, in words expressed in writing to this purpose.

The Church-Covenant.

WE that do affemble our selves this day before God and his people, in an unfeigned desire, to be accepted of him as a Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, according to the Rule of the New-Testament, do acknowledg our selves to be the most unworthy of all others, that we should attain such a high grace, and the most unable of our selves to the performance of any thing that is good, abhorring our selves for all our former defilements in the worship of God, and other wayes, and resting only upon the Lord Jesus Christ for attone-ment, and upon the power of his grace for the guidance of our whole after course, do here in the name of Christ Jesus, as in the presence of the Lord, from the bottom of our hearts agree together through his grace to give up our selves, first unto the Lord Jesus as our only King, Priest and Prophet, wholly to be subject unto him in all thing, and therewith one unto another, as in a Church-Body to walk together in all the Ordinances of the Gospel, and in all such mutual love and offices thereof, as toward one another in the Lord; and all this, both according to the present light that the Lord hath given us, as also according to all further light, which he shall be pleased at any time to reach out unto us out of the Word by the goodness of his grace, renouncing also in the same Covenant all errors and Schismes, and whatsoever by-wayes that are contrary to the blessed rules revealed in the Gospel, and in particular the inordinate love and seeking after the things of the world; every Church hath not the same for words, for they are not for a form of words.

The 22. of the 9. moneth following Mr. *Thomas Carter* was ordained Pastor, in presence of the like Assembly. After he had exercised in preaching and prayer the greater part of the day, two persons in the name of the Church laid their hands upon his head, and said, We ordain thee *Thomas Carter* to be Pastor unto this Church of Christ; then one of the Elders

Priest, being desired of the Church, continued in prayer unto the Lord for his more especial assistance of this his servant in his work, being a charge of such weighty importance, as is the glory of God and salvation of souls, that the very thought would make a man to tremble in the sense of his own inability to the work: The people having provided a dwelling house, built at the charge of the Town in general, welcomed him unto them with joy, that the Lord was pleased to give them such a blessing, that their eyes may see their Teachers: After this there were divers added to the Church daily; after this manner the person desirous to joyn with the Church, cometh to the Pastor, and makes him acquainted therewith, declaring how the Lord hath been pleased to work his conversion, who discerning hopes of the persons faith in Christ, although weak, yet if any appear, he is propounded to the Church in general for their approbation, touching his godly life and conversation, and then by the Pastor and some brethren heard again, who make report to the Church of their charitable approving of the person; but before they come to joyn with the Church, all persons within the Towne have publike notice of it, then publikely he declares the manner of his conversion, and how the Lord hath been pleased by the hearing of his Word preached, and the work of his Spirit in the inward parts of his soul, to bring him out of that natural darknes, which all men are by nature in and under, as also the measure of knowledg the Lord hath been pleased to indue him withal. And because some men cannot speak publikely to edification through bashfulness, the less is required of such, and women speak not publikely at all, for all that is desired, is to prevent the polluting the blessed Ordinances of Christ by such as walk scandalously, and that men and women do not eat and drink their own condemnation, in not discerning the Lords body: After this manner were many added to this Church of Christ, and those 7. that joyned in Church-fellowship at first, are now encreased to 74. persons, or therabout; of which, according to their own confession, as is supposed, the greater part having been converted by the preaching of the Word in *N. E.* by which may appear the powerful efficacy

cy of the word of Christ in the mouth of his Ministers, and that this way of Christ in joyning together in Church-Covenant, is not only for building up of souls in Christ, but also for converting of sinners, & bringing them out of the natural condition to be ingrafted into Christ, for if this one Church have so many, then assuredly there must be a great number comparatively throughout all the Churches in the Country. After this manner have the Churches of Christ had their beginning and progress hitherto, the Lord continue & encrease them the world throughout: The Pastor of this Church hath much encreased with the encreasings of Christ Jesus, of whose labours in the Lord as followeth.

C*Arter*, Christ hath his wayes thee taught, and them,
 Hast not with-held his Word, but unto all,
 With's word of power dost cause stout souls to bow,
 And meek as Lambs before thy Christ to fall:
 The antient truths, plain paths they fit thee best,
 Thy humble heart all haughty acts puts by,
 The lowly heart, Christ learns his lovely-hest,
 Thy meekness shews thy Christ to thee is nigh;
 Yet must thou shew Christ makes his bold to be,
 As Lions, that none may his truths tread down,
 Pastoral power he hath invested thee
 With, it maintain, least he on thee do frown:
 Thy youth thou hast in this *New-England* spent,
 Full sixteen years to water, plant, and prune,
 Trees taken up, and for that end here sent,
 Thy end's with Christ, with's Saints his praises tune.

This year the General Court made an order about preparing houses for Salt-peter, that there might be powder made in the Country, but as yet it hath not gone on.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Of the uniting of the four English Colonies in N, E. and the bat-
tel fought between the Narragansets, and Mawhiggins.*

THE yeare 1643. the honored *John Winthrop* Esquire was chosen Governour again, and *John Endicutt* Esquire Deputy Governour; the freemen added were about 87. this year, the four Colonies, the *Mattachusets*, *Plimoth*, *Canectico*, and *New-haven*, taking into consideration the many Nations of *Dutch*, *Zewes*, and *French*, that were on either side of them; as also how apt they were to lay claim to lands they never had any right unto, but only a paper possession of their own framing; and further, that the inhumane and barbarous Indians would be continually quarrelling and contending, could they see any hopes of prevailing, together with the contention begun in our Native country, and withal, that although providence had cast them into four several Colonies, yet Religion had already united them, coming over all for one and the same end. Hereupon by Commissioners sent from the several colonies, they concluded a firm confederation to assist each other in all just and lawful war, bearing an equal proportion in the charge, according to the number of persons inhabiting each colony; but herein the *Mattachusett* had the worst end of the staff, in bearing as much, or more charge, then all the other three, and yet no greater number of Commissioners to negotiate and judge in transacting of affairs concerning peace and war, then the least of the other, and any one of the other as likely to involve them in a chargeable war with the naked Natives, that have neither plunder, nor cash to bear the charge of it, nay hitherto the most hath risen from the lesser colonies, yet are the *Mattachusets* far from deserting them, esteeming them highly, so long as their Governments maintain the same purity in Religion with themselves, for indeed this is that they have spent their whole travel for, and therefore if *Plimoth*, or any of the other shall draw back herein, the chiefest end of their confederacy would be lost; for should it come to pass (that in venturing their persons and

and estates so far for purity in the Ordinances and Discipline of Christ) they should lose the purity in doctrine, all their cost and labour were lost: This confederacy being finished, there came in certain Indian Sachims, and submitted to the English Government, as *Pomham*, and *Soccananocoh* to the *Mattachusetts*; also *Miantonemo* and *Vncas*; but between these two latter Princes arose a very hot quarrel, the English seeking by all means to quench it, but could not, it being, as is supposed, fomented by a small company of vacabond English, who were then for their crimes banished from their own complices at Rhode Island, the Ringleader of them, being one *Samuel Gorton*, by whose mean they were drawn into damnable errors,: These *Gortonists*, as is said, lent *Miantonemo* a Corslet for safeguard of his own person in the following fight, and he promised each of them a *Mawchiggin* papoose, which was the people. *Vncas* was Prince of *For*, although *Miantonemo* were the more potent Prince by far, and a very austere man, yet did he chuse rather to take *Vncasses* life away by treachery if he could; and to that end hired a young man of the *Pegod* Nation to murder him, as is supposed, for in an evening, when it was very neer dark, this Sachim passing without any of his Retinue, from one wigwam to another, was suddainly shot through the arm with an arrow, seeing not whence it came; but yet recovering the Palace he was passing unto, without receiving any more shot, he had the arrow drawn forth, and the wound cured in a short time after; the young man, who was suspected to have done the fact, having great store of Wampumpeage, about this time being questioned how he came by it, could give no good account, which encreased the suspicion the more, that he had received it as hire from *Miantonemo* for this fact; and hereupon the young man fled unto him, which caused *Vncas* to complain to the English, who having the hearing of the case at a General Court holden at *Boston*, at the same time *Miantonemo* coming thither with his attendance, and sending one of his Councillors to follow the matter in hand, the young man was examined in presence of *Miantonemo*, being, as is supposed, tutored by him, he told this tale, that while he was

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in *Vncasses* Court, on a day travelling alone by a thick fwamp, *Vncas* call'd him out of the fwamp, charging him to be true to him, in declaring to the English what he required to him, which was, that he should say he had been hired of *Miantonemo* to kill him, and to make his matter good, quoth the young man, he then cut his arm on the top, and underneath with the flint of his Gun, to make men think he had beene shot through with an arrow: This tale made the English more to suspect *Miantonemo* then before; and therefore desired to examine the young man alone, which he was very unwilling they should do; but upon further examination alone, they did verily believe this young man had done the fact, yet for present they let him depart with *Miantonemo*, advising him to send him home to *Vncas*, but by the way, he instead of returning him home, cut off his head, and forthwith gathered an army of about a thousand men to fight with *Vncas*, who feared not to meet him in the field with half the number; the battel being come within shot one of another, with a great hubbub they let their long shafts fly one at another, and after came to a close with other weapons, till the *Narrowgansets* multitude being sorely distressed by the *Mawhiggins* valour, they began to cry out *Wam-meck*, which is to say, enough: *Vncas* like a stout commander, with others of his bloud-royal that were about him, fought to perfect his victory, by possessing himself with the person of their Prince, which he effected, by putting his Life-guard to flight, and taking hold on the Sachim himself, carried him victoriously away to the Town of *Hartford*, neer the which he kept his residence at this time, and then made the English acquainted there with his noble design, and desired to have the advise of the united colonies what to do with his prisoner; the *Narrowgansets* sought to ransom him home, being much abashed, that so mean a Prince as *Vncas* was should scape scotfree with such a victory; but the honored Commissioners have had proof of *Miantonemo's* treachery, both toward this Prince that had him in possession, and toward the English in falsifying his promise with them; they advised *Vncas* to put him to death, but withall, that he should forbear to exercise any

any barbarous cruelty toward him, as their manner is, and by this means the English prevented another war, both with English and Indians, which was very neer joyning in battel. Not many years after, the Indian Sachim upon this advise, caused *Miantonemo* to be led forth, as if he would remove him to a more safer place of custody, and by the way caused him to be executed; the Indians, his kindred and subjects, were much grieved at his death, yet took it quietly at present, but the lesser Princes, his Neighbours, rather rejoiced, he having tyrannized over them, and enforced them to subject to his will, right or wrong.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the proceeding of certain persons called Gortonists, against the united Colonies, and more especially against the Massachusetts, and of the blasphemous doctrines broached by Gorton, deluding a company of poor ignorant people therewith.

FOR not long before, those persons that we spake of, who encouraged *Miantonemo* to this war, and with the help of him enforced *Pomham* and *Socanancho* to fet their hands to a writing which these *Gortonists* had framed, to take their land from them; but the poor Sachems, when they saw they were thus gull'd of their land, would take no pay for it, but complained to the *Mattachusetts* Government, to whom they had subjected themselves and their lands: As also at this time certain English inhabiting those parts, with the Indians good leave and liking, desired to have the benefit of the *Mattachusetts* Government, as *Dover* formerly had done, to whom this Government condescended, in hope they might encrease to such a competent number of godly Christians, as that there might be a Church of Christ planted, the place being capable to entertain them in a comfortable measure for outward accommodation, but hitherto it hath been hindred by these *Gortonists*, and one of *Plimoth* who forbad our people to plant there: These person thus submitting, came at this time

also to complain of certain wrongs done them by these *Gortonists*, who had thus incroached, and began to build on the Indians land; upon these complaints, the Governor and the honored Mr. *Dudly* issue forth their Warrant, to summon them to appear, they being then about five or six persons, without any means for instructing them in the wayes of God, and without any civil Government to keep them in civility or humanity, which made them to cast off most proudly and disdainfully any giving accompt to man of their actions, no not to the chiefest in authority, but returned back most insolent, scornful, scurrilous speeches. After this, the Government of the *Mattachusetts* sent two messengers on purpose to persuade them to come and have their cause heard, assuring them like justice in their cause with any other; but *Samuel Gorton* being the ring-leader of the rout, was so full gorged with dreadful and damnable errors, (the which he had newly inured these poor souls with) that soon after the departure of the messenger, he layes aside all civil justice, and instead of returning answer to the matter in hand, he vomits up a whole paper full of beastly stuff, one while scoffing and deriding the ignorance of all beside himself, that think *Abraham, Isaac, &c.* could be saved by Christ Jesus, who was after born of the Virgin *Mary*, another while mocking at the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lords Supper, in an opprobrious manner, deriding at the Elements Christ was pleased to institute them in, and calling them Negromancers that administer them at all; and in in a word, all the Ordinances of the Gospel abominable Idolatry he called, and likened them to *Molock*, and the Star of the Idol *Rempham*; his paper was thrust full of such filthiness, that no Christian ear could hear them without indignation against them, and all was done by him in a very scornful and deriding manner, upbraiding all that use them; in the mean time magnifying his own glorious light, that could see himself to be personally Christ, God-Man, and so all others that would believe as he did: This paper he got to be subscribed, with about twelve or thirteen hands, his number of Disciples being encreased, for assuredly the man had a very glosing tongue, but yet very deceitful, for when he had
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but a few with him, then he cried out against all such as would rule over their own species, affirming, that the Scripture termeth such to be Gods of the world, or divels; but after his return from *England*, having received some encouragement from such as could not look into the depth of his deceits, being done at so large a distance, he getting into favour again with those, who had formerly whipt him out of their company, turns divel himself; the godly Governors of the *Mattachusetts* seeing this blasphemous Bull of his, resolved to send forty persons well-appointed with weapons of war for apprehending of him, who accordingly, with some waiting, did apprehend him and the rest of his company, except two or three which ran away without any hurt to any person, although he gave out very big words, threatening them with blood and death so soon as they set foot on the ground, and yet this brazenface'd deceiver published in print the great fear their women were put unto by the souldiers, whereas they came among them day by day, and had it not been that they intended peaceably to take them, they would never have waited so long upon their worships as they did, but being apprehended, and standing to that they had written (yet would they willingly have covered it with some shifts if they could) the greatest punishment they had, was to be confin'd to certain Towns for a few moneths, and afterward banished; but to be sure there be them in *N. E.* that have Christ Jesus and his blessed Ordinances in such esteem, that the Lord assisting, they had rather lose their lives, then suffer them to be thus blasphemed if they can help it; and whereas some have favoured them, and endeavoured to bring under blame such as have been zealous against their abominable doctrines, the good God be favourable unto them, and prevent them from coming under the like blame with *Ahab*, yet they remain in their old way, and there's somewhat to be considered in it to be sure, that in these daies, when all look for the fall of Antichrist, such detestable doctrines should be upheld, and persons suffered, that exceed the Beast himself for blasphemy, and this to be done by those that would be counted Reformers, and such as seek the utter subversion of Antichrist.

To end this year, or rather at the beginning of it, the Lord caused another Earthquake, much less then the former, it was on the fifth of the first moneth called March in the morning.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the planting the twenty fourth Church of Christ at the Town of Readding, and the twenty fifth Church of Christ in the Mattachufets Government, called Wenham.

THIS year was chosen to the place of Governor *John Endicut* Esquire, and *John Winthrope* Esquire Deputy Governour; the number of freemen added about 145. this year.

The Town of Readding had her foundation stone laid about this time, this and the Town of Wooburn were like the twins in the womb of *Tamar*, Readding thrusting forth the hand first, but *Wooburn* came first to the birth, this Town is well watered, and scituate about a great pond, besides it hath two mills, the one a Saw-mill, the other a Corn-mill, which stand on two several streams; it hath not been so fruitful for children as her Sister hath, her habitation is fallen in the very center of the country, they are well stocked with cattel, for the number of people they have they gathered into a church, and ordained a Pastor from among themselves at the same time, a young man of good abilities to preach the Word, and of a very humble behaviour, named Mr. *Green*, he having finished his course, departed this life not long after, whose labours are with the Lord; after him succeeded in the place one Mr. *Hoph*, a young man, one of the first fruits of *N. E.* a man studious to promote the truths of Christ, they are both remembered in this following verse.

ON earths bed thou at noon hast laid thy head,
 You for that Christ (as *Green*) here toyl have taken,
 When nature fails, then rest it in earths dead,
 Till Christ by's word with glory thee awaken.

Young

Young *Hoph* thou must be second to this man,
 In field incounter, with *Christ's* foes shalt thou
 Stand up, and take his bright sword in thy hand,
 Error cut down, and make stout stomachs bow ;
Green's gone before, thy warfare's now begun,
 And last it may to see *Romes* Babel fall ;
 Byweakest means *Christ* mighty works hath done,
 Keep footing fast, till *Christ* thee hence do call.

The next Town and church of *Christ* planted in this colony, was between Salem and Ipswitch, Salem the eldest of all the Sisters was very helpful to this her little Sister, nourishing her up in her own bosom, till she came of age, being beneficial to her besides, in giving her a good portion of Land ; this Town is called *Wenham*, and is very well watered, as most in-land Towns are, the people live altogether upon husbandry, *New England* having train'd up great store to this occupation, they are encreased in cattel, and most of them live very well, yet are they no great company ; they were some good space of time there before they gathered into a Church-body, the godly and reverend Mr. *John Fisk* went thither with them, at first setting down as a planter among them, yet withal he became helpful in preaching the Word unto them, when they were but a few in number, they afterward call'd him to the office of a Pastor, with whom he now remains, labouring in the Word and Doctrine, with great industry of whom, it may be thus said :

TO wade through toyl of Wilderness, thou hast
 Doubled thy work, thy wages treble are,
Christ hath thee call'd and in his vineyard plac't,
 He'l bear thee up above all fainting far.
Sions strong Mount must now again be built,
 Thy faith, oh *Fisk*, the Lord hath holpen much ;
 With dreadful sighs the Prelats power hath split,
 All pride he'l stain by his almighty touch.

His truths unfain'd by liberty keep thou,
 To please the most, authority must fall,
 What Christ hath given, it safely keep with you,
 Till he to thee for thine accompt do call.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the military affairs, the forts of Boston, and Charles, the Castle erected anew by the six neereſt Towns, with the manner of putting the Country in a poſture of war, to be ready upon all occaſions.

THEſe ſouldiers of Chriſt Jeſus, having made a fair retreat from their Native country hither, and now being come to a convenient ſtation, reſolved to ſtand it out (the Lord aſſiſting) againſt all ſuch as ſhould come to rob them of their priviledges, which the Lord Chriſt had purchaſed for them at a very high rate, and now out of the riches of his grace was minded to give them, yet would he have them follow him into this Wilderneſs for it: although the chiefeſt work of theſe ſelect bands of Chriſt, was to mind their ſpiritual warfare, yet they knew right well the Temple was ſurrounded with walls and bulworks, and the people of God in re-edifying the ſame, did prepare to reſiſt their enemies with weapons of war, even while they continued building: This people no leſs diligent to make uſe of ſuch means as the Lord afforded them, ordered and decreed, That all the ſouldiers belonging to the 26. bands in the *Mattachuſets* Government, ſhould be exerciſed and drill'd eight daies in a yeare, and whoſoever ſhould abſent himſelf, except it were upon unavoidable occaſion, ſhould pay 5.s. for every daies neglect, there are none exempt, unleſs it be a few timorous perſons that are apt to plead infirmity, if the Church chuſe them not for Deacons, or they cannot get to ſerve ſome Magiſtrate or Miniſter; but aſſuredly the generality of this people are very forward for feats of war, and many have ſpent their time and eſtates to further this work; the Town of *Boston* hath afforded many active, *Charles-Town* hath not been inferiour, unleſs it be in
 number:

number: This year the Court appointed certain persons to spend their skill in putting the people possessing this desolate desert in a ready posture of drawing their forces together, upon any sudden accident that might befall them, to manage, guide, order, and direct all things, as may be best for the good of the whole, they being a poor and mean people, laboured to avoid high titles, yet order they knew was necessary, therefore ordained they only one General Officer in time of war, under the name of Major General, the Governor and Magistrates for the time being are the standing Council for peace or war, and either they or the General Court may appoint any to the office of a General; the first Major-General was the much honored *Tho. Dudley* Esquire, whose faithfulness and great zeal and love to the truths of Christ, caused the people to chuse him to this office, although he were far stricken in years; the Government is divided into four Counties, which to shew, they would their posterity should mind whence they came, they have named, *Suffolk, Middlesex, Essex, and Northfolk*, each containing a Regiment, over whom, the chief Commander is only a Serjeant-Major; the first chosen to this office over the Regiment of *Suffolk*, was Major *Edw. Gibbons*, who hath now the office of Major-General also, he is a man of a resolute spirit, bold as a Lion, being wholly tutor'd up in *N. E.* Discipline, very generous, and forward to promote all military matters; his Forts are well contrived, and batteries strong, and in good repair, his great Artillery well mounted, and cleanly kept, half Canon, Culverins and Sakers, as also field-pieces of brass very ready for service, his own company led by *Capt. Lieutenant Sarag*, are very compleat in their arms, and many of them disciplin'd in the military garden, beside their ordinary trainings; the Captains under him, are *Capt. Humphry Atherton*, of the Band of *Dochester*; a very lively couragious man, with his stout and valiant Lieutenant *Clapes*, strong for the truth; of the Band of *Roxbury*, *Capt. Prichard*, and Ensign *Johnson*; of the Band of *Waymoth*, *Capt. Perkins*, and his proper and active Lieutenant *Torry*; of the Band of *Hingham*, *Capt. Bozoan Allen*; of the Band of *Deadham*, *Capt. Eliazer Lusher*,
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one of a nimble and active spirit, strongly affected to the ways of truth; of the Band of *Braintree*, *Capt. William Tinge*, these belong to the Regiment of *Suffolk*; the first Serjeant-Major chosen to order the Regiment of *Essex*, was Major *Rebert Sedgwick*, stout and active in all feats of war, nurs't up in *Londons* Artillery garden, and furthered with fifteen years experience in *N. E.* exact theory, besides the help of a very good head-piece, being a frequent instructor of the most martial troops of our Artillery men; and although *Charles Town*, (which is the place of his own companies residence) do not advantage such o're-topping batteries as *Boston* doth, yet hath he erected his to very good purpose, insomuch that all shipping that comes in, either to *Boston* or *Charles-Town*, must needs face it all the time of their coming in; the cost he hath been at, in helping on the Discipline of his Regiment hath profited much; his own company are led by the faithful *Capt. Lievtenant Francis Norton*, (a man of a bold and cheerful spirit) being well disciplin'd and an able man; the companies under his service have not all Captains at present, *VVater-Town* Band was led by *Capt. Ienings*, who is supposed to be now in *England*, his Lievtenant remains *Hugh Mason*; the band of *Cambridg* led by *Capt. George Cook*, now Colonel *Cook* in the wars of *Ireland*, but now led by *Capt. Daniel Gookin*, a very forward man to advance Marshal discipline, and withal the truths of Christ; the Band of *Concord* led by *Capt. Simon Willard*, being a Kentish souldier, as is *Capt. Goggin*; the Band of *Sudbury* lately led by *Capt. Pelham*, who is in *England* at present, his Lievtenant remains, *Edm. Goodinow*; the band of *Wooburn* led by another Kentish Captain; the Band of *Reading* led by Lievtenant *VValker*; the Band of *Malden*, being as yet a young Town, who have not chosen their Officers, are led by Mr. *Joseph Hill*: These belong to the Regiment of *Middlesex*, the two Counties of *Essex* and *Northfolk* are for present joyned in one Regiment, their first Major, who now commandeth this Regiment, is the proper and valiant Major *Daniel Denison*, a good souldier, and of a quick capacity, not inferiour to any other of these chief Officers, his own company are well instructed

fructed in feats of warlike activity, his Capt. Lieutenant departed this life some few years since, a godly and faithful man, which is indeed the fountain of true validity; named Mr. *VWhitingam*; the Band of *Salem* led by the bold and worthy Capt. *VWilliam Hawthorn*, a man of an undaunted courage, with his Lieutenant *Lothrope*; the Band of *Lyn* led by the honored and much respected Capt. *Robert Bridges*, who is also a Magistrate, being endued with able parts, and forward to improve them for the glory of God and his peoples good; the Band of *Nuberry* led by Capt. *Gerish*, with his antient and experienced Lieutenant *Greenlife*; the Band of *Rowly* led by Capt. *Brigham*; the Bands of *Glocester*, *VVenham* and *Andover*, have not yet made choice of Superiour Officers, being in their minority; these are the Bands of the Regiment of *Essex*, to the which are joyned the three Bands of the County of *Northfolk*, *Salsbury*, *Hampton*, and *Haverhil*: there are none chosen to office in any of these Bands, but such as are freemen supposed to be men indued with faith in Christ Jesus, wherefore let all that truly love the Lord Christ say with *Deborah*, My heart is toward the Governors of *Israel*, that offered themselves willingly among the people, their Officers are chosen by the major Vote of the souldiers, being installed into their place by the Major of their Regiment: There are of late a very gallant horse-troop lifted, it being a frequent thing with the Officers of the foot companies, to turn Troopers, (when their own Regiment is not in exercise) for encouragement of others, the Regiments are exercised once a year by turnes; they are also very observant to keep their armes in good order; each souldier is to keep constantly by him powder, bullet, and match, besides every Town is injoyned to have a common stock in like manner, as also the country have their ammunition exactly looked unto, by Surveyor General *Johnson*, one very well qualified for the work, ready at all times to put the General Court in mind of keeping their store renewed by fresh supply, and to say right, some particular persons may be penurious in laying out their estates upon ammunition, but the general of Officers and souldiers are very generous that way; the reverend Doctor *VWilson*

son gave bountifully for the furthering this Wilderneys-work, the which was expended upon great Artillery, his gift being a thousand pound, beside many persons that came over, the Lord was pleased to indow with a large portion of the things of this life, who were not backward liberally to dispose of it, to procure means of defence, ann to that end there was a castle built on an Island, upon the passage into the *Mattachu-Bay*, wholly built at first by the country in general, but by reason the country affords no Lime, but what is burnt of Oyster-shells, it fell to decay in a few years after, which made many of the Towns that lay out of the defence thereof to desert it, although their safety (under God) was much involved in the constant repair and well-manning thereof; hereupon the next six Towns take upon them to rebuild it at their proper cost and charges, the rest of the country upon the finishing thereof gave them a small matter toward it; upon this there was a Captain ordained, and put in possession thereof by the country, having a yearly Stipend allowed him for himself and his souldiers, which he is to keep in a constant readiness upon the Island, being about eight acres of ground; the Castle is built on the North-East of the Island, upon a rising hill, very advantageous to make many shot at such ships as shall offer to enter the Harbor without their good leave and liking, the Commander of it is one Captain *Davenport*, a man approved for his faithfulness, courage and skill, the Master Canoneer is an active Engineer; also this Castle hath cost about four thousand pounds, yet are not this poor pilgrim people weary of maintaining it in good repair, it is of very good use to awe any insolent persons, that putting confidence in their ship and sails, shall offer any injury to the people, or contemn the Government, they have certain signals of alarums, which suddenly spread through the whole country; were there but one Town more erected in this Government, which were one and thirty, it would joyn all the Towns in the same neighbourly together, excepting Spring-field. Thus are these people with great diligence provided for these daies of war, hoping the day is at hand wherein the Lord will give Antichrist the double of all her doings, and therefore they have nursed

nursed up in their Artillery garden some who have since been used, as instruments to begin the work; but that which gives the greatest hope concerning this particular, is this, that these times afford more souldiers depending on the Lord Christ through faith for deliverance and true valour, then any age since Antichrist began to fall, without which, all these preparations were but as so many traps and snares to catch a people in, and to the which these Commanders and souldiers are daily exhorted, and therefore let all people know that desire the downfal of *New-England*, they are not to war against a people only exercised in feats of war, but men who are experienced in the deliverances of the Lord from the mouth of the Lion, and the paw of the Bear; and now woe be to you, when the same God that directed the stone to the forehead of the Philistine, guides every bullet that is shot at you, it matters not for the whole rabble of Antichrist on your side, the God of Armies is for us a refuge high. *Shela.*



Wonder working Providence
 O F
 Sions SAVIOUR in New-England.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING

The passages of Gods providence toward this wandering Race of *Jaacobites* in these latter seven years, from the year 1645. till toward the latter end of 51.

CHAP. I.

Of planting the twenty sixth Church of Christ at the Town of Haverhil, and of preparation for a second war with the Indians.

THis year that antient, honored and trusty fouldier of the truth, *Thom. Dudley* Esquire was chosen Governor, and the honored *John Winthrop* Esquire was chosen Deputy Governor, *John Endicut* Esquire to the office of Major-General. You have heard in the former book of

of the fortifying of the Castle, and placing a Captain therein, which was not finished till this year; the number of freemen added was 56. The Town of Haverhil was built much about this time, lying higher up then *Salisbury*, upon the fair and large river of Merrimeck: the people are wholly bent to improve their labour in tilling the earth, and keeping of cattel, whose yearly encrease encourages them to spend their days in those remote parts, the constant penetrating farther into this Wilderness, hath caused the wild and uncouth woods to be fill'd with frequented wayes, and the large rivers to be over-laid with Bridges passeable, both for horse and foot; this Town is of a large extent, supposed to be ten miles in length, there being an over-weaning desire in most men after Meadow land, which hath caused many towns to grasp more into their hands then they could afterward possibly hold; the people are laborious in the gaining the goods of this life, yet are they not unmindful also of the chief end of their coming hither, namely, to be made partakers of the blessed Ordinances of Christ, that their souls might be refreshed with the continual income of his rich grace, to which end they gathered into a Church-body, and called to office the reverend M. *VVard*, son to the former named M. *VVard* of Ipswitch,

With mind resolv'd run out thy race at length,
 Yound *Ward* begin whereas thy father left,
 Left hath he not, but breaths for further strength,
 Nor thou, nor he, are yet of hope bereft:
 Fruit of thy labours thou shalt see so much,
 The righteous shall hear of it, and rejoice
 When Babel falls by Christ's almighty touch,
 All's folk shall praise him with a cheerful voice.
 They prosper shall that Sions building mind,
 Then *Ward* cease not with toyl her stones to lay,
 For great is he thee to this work assign'd,
 Whose pleasure is, heavens Crown shall be thy pay.

This year, although divers Indian Sachems not long before
 had

had desired to subject themselves and lands unto this Government, yet the sons of old *Canonicus* having not inherited their fathers prudence, with his subjects and land, fell to hot contention with their own neighbours and native inhabitants, although they were forbidden by the united Colonies, and prosecuted so, that they would not stick to wage war with the English also, which the Commissioners perceiving, they raised an Army of horse and foot out of the Colonies, and appointed as Commander in chief over them Major-General *Edward Gibbons*; the reverend Mr. *Tompson*, one of the Elders of the Church at *Braintree* was to accompany them, and to preach the Word of God unto them, during the time of the war; but the Indians hearing of this preparation against them, sent a certain number of their chief Nobility to treat with the Commissioners of the united Colonies about a peace, who then sitting at *Boston* gave them audience, the *Indians* coming into their presence, could speak no more English, but peace, peace; the *English* were very desirous of an opportunity to shew them mercy, and yet would they should not despise them, in gaining it upon such easie terms, as might cause them to move war again, and therefore allotted them to pay some part of the charge of the war intended, and therefore appointed them to give four of their sons for hostages till they had wholly paid it; the *Indians* gladly accepted of the terms, and accordingly brought their children. Here the Reader should be minded of the admirable acts of the Lord Christ in awing these multitudes of Heathens, for they were the most populous of any that are in these parts; but it is reserved for another place in this history, the *Indians* being slow in their performance, had their hostages returned home before the Wapom was paid, yet their two Princes *Peficus* and *Mexanimo*, did upon the sending certain armed men to demand the remainder, send the sum demanded.

C H A P. II.

Of the planting of the twenty seventh Church of Christ at the Town called Springfield, and of the earnest seeking the Lord by all the Churches of N. E. for his gracious assistance in the work of Reformation.

ABout this time one Mr. *Pinchin*, sometime a Magistrate, having out of desire to better his estate, by trading with the *Indians*, fetled himself very remote (from all the Churches of Christ in the *Mattachusetts* Government) upon the river of *Caneetico*, yet under their Government, he having some godly persons resorting unto him, they there erected a Town and Church of Christ, calling it *Springfield*, it lying upon this large navigable river, hath the benefit of transporting their goods by water, and also fitly seated for a Bever trade with the *Indians*, till the Merchants encreased so many, that it became little worth, by reason of their out-buying one another, which hath caused them to live upon husbandry; this Town is mostly built along the river side, and upon some little rivelets of the same: There hath of late been more then one or two in this Town greatly suspected of witchcraft, yet have they used much diligence, both for the finding them out, and for the Lords assisting them against their witchery, yet have they, as is supposed, bewitched not a few persons, among whom two of the reverend Elders children: These people inhabiting this Town having gathered into a Church-body, called to the office of a Pastor the reverend M. *Moxon*, who remaineth with them at this very day, of whom as followeth.

AS thou with strong and able parts art made,
 Thy person stout with toyl and labour shall,
 With help of Christ through difficulties wade,
 Then spend for him, spare not thy self at all.
 When errors crowd close to thy self, and friends
 Take up truths sword, trifle not time, for why
 Christ call'd his people hither, for these ends,
 To tell the world that Babels fall is nigh;

And

And that his Churches through the world shall spread,
 Maugre the might of wicked men and devils,
 Then *Moxon* thou need'ft not at all to dread,
 But be aveng'd on Satan for his evils,
 Thy Lord Chrift will under thy feet him tread.

This year the great troubles in our native country encreafeing, and that hearing prophane *Eſau* had muſtered up all the Bands he could make to come againſt his brother *Iacob*, theſe wandering race of Jacobites deemed it now high time to implore the Lord for his eſpecial aid in this time of their deepeſt diſtreſs, and the rather being encouraged hereunto from former deliverances and wonderful mercies received, the which they now preſented before the Lord with the ſeveral branches, and enlarged bounties thereof to reſreſh their frozen affections, and move a melting heart in their barren breſts, that began to dry up with a lazy lethargy, and therefore thruſting themſelves on to the work by the loving invitation of that godly Government the Lord in his mercy had peaceably placed among them, each Church in their own proper place meeting together in daies of ſolemn ſeeking of the Lords pleaſing countenance in Chriſt (the Lord in his mercy helping them) after a ſerious acknowledgment of their own unworthineſs, by reaſon of their ſinful provocations of the Lord to anger againſt them aggravated, in that they were committed immediately upon the receipt of a multitude of marvellous mercies, they acknowledged unto the Lord in the audience of the great Congregation the manner of his wonderful providence extended toward them, that as *Iacob* profeſſes, I came over this Jordan with my ſtaff, and now have I gotten two Bands; ſo they came over this boyſterous billow-boyling Ocean, a few poor ſcattered ſtones newly raked out of the heaps of rubbiſh, and thou Lord Chriſt haſt now ſo far exalted them, as to lay them fure in thy Sion, a building, to be the wonder of the world, orderly are they placed in five and forty ſeveral Churches, and that in a Wilderneſs, where civility ſcarce ever took place, much leſs any Religion, and now to the Lord earneſtly they cry to be delivered from the cruel hands of thoſe
 that

that would destroy both young and old, the bird and her young together, and as *Iacobs* fear was, the seed of Christs Church in the posterity of *Israel* should be cut off, and therefore pleaded the promise of the Lord in the multiplying of his seed; so these people at this very time, pleaded not only the Lords promise to *Israel*, but to his only Son Christ *Jesus*; Lord, hast thou not said, *Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost ends of the earth for thy possession*; and now Lord, are not these the Churches of Christ which thou hast planted for his possession; and that as *Rachel* and *Leah* built the house of *Israel*, so now shall these and the like Sister-churches spread the whole earth, the Lord Christ reigning as King and Lord for ever over them; *Then why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagin a vain thing, seeing the time of the Lords arising to have mercy upon Sion is come, yea his appointed time is at hand*; and he who walks in the midst of his golden Candlesticks, whose eyes are as a flaming fire, will not suffer his Churches to be trodden under feet of that Antichristian Lordly prelacy any longer, nor yet defiled with any transformed Saint-seeming Angels of light with their painted doctrines. Thus did this poor people plead with the Lord, not only for themselves, but for their dearly beloved brethren in England, I and all that are Christs chosen people the world throughout; and although they were not unmindful from day to day of them, yet this year 1645. the Lord was pleased to stir up their affections in more then an ordinary manner, what success their prayers have had, let all (that love and long to behold the beauty of Christ shining on and in his beloved Bride) declare the loving kindness of the Lord toward his Churches, and let all the Churches of Christ, though never so remote the one from the other, yet joynd together in one faith and one Christ, be frequent in prayer one for another, congregate together at the Throne of the Lord, be present in spirit though absent in body; these New-England Churches are neer one hundred miles distant one from another, and yet communicate, counsel, care, love, joy, grieve with, and for one another, dismiss some, and commend others (as occasion serves) to the Christian care and watchfulness, from one

Church to another, and why may not this be practised the world throughout, even from Jerufalem, and round about to Illyricum?

CHAP. III.

Of the opposition the Government of the Mattachufets Colony met withal, by certain persons, under the name of Petitioners.

IN place of Governor was chosen for this year *John Winthrop* Esquire, and for Deputy Governor *Thomas Dudley* Esquire, the number of freemen were about 72. At the Court of Election there was a Petition drawn, and presented to the Court by a Doctor of Physick, with seven hands to it, the persons were of a Linfwolfie disposition, some for Prelacy, some for Presbytery, and some for Plebsbytery, but all joyned together in the thing they would, which was to stir up the people to dislike of the present Government, one while envying against the constitution of the Government as not popular enough, another while against the Laws or orders of this little Commonwealth as too strict, and then to provoke, at least the penurious, they tell them of great expence of the publike Treasury, and intolerable taxations; the matter they petitioned for, was a bottom to build their quarrel upon, under the name of a Presbyterian Government, and this they supposed would suit well with their Bill of complaint, which they intended for England, not that they cared for a Presbyterian Church, for had they so done, they might have found out one in the country before they petitioned, but because they supposed that the Parliament in England would establish that way only, and therefore bore themselves bold upon it, that although their seditious and scandalous words and practices should incur a penalty (as none could deem any other, unless it be such as are all for liberty, and nothing for Government) yet they might bear men in hand, it was for petitioning for a Presbyterian Church-Government, according to this tenor; the Court being somewhat slow in censuring them, they prepared a plot, wrapping in some few persons more with them, laying

ing very grofs matters to the charge of this Government in their Bill of complaint, but being suspected by the honoured Magistrates of this Government, their plot was found out, and writing publicly read unto them, for all which they had a small penalty laid upon them, hardly countervail the charge they put the country unto; but assuredly it was the Lords gracious goodnes to quell their malice against his people, and indeed the proud Bishops sped no better, or not so well, especially some of them, nor have any other hitherto prospered, who have maligned these poor Churches of Christ, yet because the Gortonist painted over a far worser cause, that those honorable personages in England, who had the hearing thereof could not discern the Government, thought meet to send over this year the honored M. *VVinslow* to manifest and declare the naked truth of things, having full power and commission from this Government to deal for them in all matters wherein they may be concerned; and verily the chief Gortonian might have returned from England hither, to have triumphed in his blasphemies over the Churches of Christ; and all the united colonies, had not the diavel shewed his horns in that book he printed, wherein he takes upon him a monstrous interpretation of the words of our Lord Christ in *John, Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, &c.* had the book been well perused before their coming over, surely they had never return'd with so large a commission as they boast of, for the Parliament have punished divers persons for their blasphemies, and very like these should not have scaped scotfree.

CHAP. IV.

Of the second Synod holden at Cambridg in N.E. and the images of the Son that appeared.

THIS year the General Court of the *Mattachusetts* Government taking into consideration the many errors in point of doctrine that were daily broached by some of our English Nation, although the churches of Christ, and the people under this Government were free, at least in open pro-

feſſion; yet to declare to all the world, and render an account of their faith and profeſſion wherein they walk, it was thought meet, that the churches of Chriſt ſhould meet together in a Synod, by their Elders and Meſſengers to hold forth the doctrine and diſcipline of Jeſus Chriſt, according to the rule of the New Teſtament, with the grounds of Scripture from which they hold the ſame; and further to make trial of them by the ſaid rules and none other: accordingly at the time appointed they aſſembled together, their diſputation was plain and eaſie to be underſtood of the meaneſt capacity, clearing up thoſe points that were moſt dubious, they having agreed on all matters, with a full concurrence of the aſſembly, did appoint them to be put in print, that they might be the better ſcanned and tried of every particular perſon in the ſeveral congregations or churches, many churches approving thereof for the generality, others there be that have not yet fully viewed the ſame, the books are extant, and ſhew that the churches of Chriſt in N.E. are not aſhamed to make confeſſion of their faith to all the world, and are yet ready to receive any further light ſhall be made known unto them from the Word of God, and none other, nor do they receive this becauſe a Synod hath ſaid it, but becauſe the Lord hath ſpoken it by his Spirit, and witneſſed by the ſame Spirit to their ſouls that he hath ſo done; ſome ſorts of perſons have been much oppoſite to this Synod, firſt thoſe that are ſo inured with the broad beaten path of liberty, that they fear to be confined in the ſtraight and narrow path of truth; the ſecond are ſuch as have their wills wedded to ſome ſingular rare conceited opinion, for which they have been admired of many, and now they fear their gain will be gone, if this ſpirit be caſt out; the third and laſt ſort are more honeſt then the two former, and only ſcared with their big words, who tell them of the Popiſh and Prelatical Synods, what a deal of traſh and cannon Laws they have brought in, and that if they will fall to receiving books once, they ſhall have more and more thruſt upon them: As alſo if any ſhall ſay its only to declare the doctrine and diſcipline the churches of N.E. hold, its enough, quoth they, that our faith concerning theſe things is contained

contained in the Bible, and this is all the accompt we need to give to any; but for all these scare-crows, N.E. hath through the blessing of the Lord received much peace and truth from the former Synod, we wish our countrymen and our selves may receive the like, and much more from this, which ended not with this year.

This year, about the latter end thereof, appeared two *Parellii*, or images of the Sun, and some other strange apparitions of light about her, like a Rainbow, with the heels upward, which unwonted sights have been interpreted by the provident passages since shewed, among those who have had an outside of profession and name, to be singular for understanding the mind of God, who would overthrow all the Ordinances of Christ, under the name of New-light, and that there can be no restoration of Religion, till new Apostles come: This desperate opinion doth so fitly resemble these wonderful apparitions, that seemed to be another Sun, yet indeed had no light in them, but vanished away no man knew how; so these opinionists would make men believe they had found out another Sea from their phantastical revelations.

C H A P. V.

Of the great pains and care taken by those in Authority, for the compiling of Lawes for this little Commonwealth.

THIS year the General Court appointed a Committee of divers persons to draw up a Body of Laws for the well-ordering of this little Commonwealth; and to the end that they might be most agreeable with the rule of Scripture, in every County there was appointed two Magistrates, two Ministers, and two able persons from among the people, who having provided such a competent number as was meet, together with the former that were enacted newly amended, they presented them to the General Court, where they were again perused and amended; and then another Committee chosen to bring them into form, and present them to the Court again, who the year following passed an Act
of

of confirmation upon them, and so committed them to the Press, and in the year 1648. they were printed, and now are to be seen of all men, to the end that none may plead ignorance, and that all who intend to transport themselves hither, may know this is no place of licentious liberty, nor will this people suffer any to trample down this Vineyard of the Lord, but with diligent execution will cut off from the city of the Lord the wicked doers, and if any man can shew wherein any of them derogate from the Word of God, very willingly will they accept thereof, and amend their imperfections (the Lord assisting) but let not any ill-affected persons find fault with them, because they suit not with their own humour, or because they meddle with matters of Religion, for it is no wrong to any man, that a people who have spent their estates, many of them, and ventured their lives for to keep faith and a pure conscience, to use all means that the Word of God allows for maintenance and continuance of the same, especially they have taken up a desolate Wilderness to be their habitation, and not deluded any by keeping their profession in huggermug, but print and proclaim to all the way and course they intend, God willing, to walk in, if any will yet notwithstanding seek to juggle them out of their own right, let them not wonder if they meet with all the opposition a people put to their greatest straits can make; as in all their undertaking, their chiefest aim hath been to promote the Ordinances of Christ, so also in contriving their Laws, Liberties, and Privileges, they have not been wanting, which hath caused many to maligne their civil Government, and more especially for punishing any by a Law, that walk contrary to the rule of the Gospel, which they profess, but to them it seems unreasonable, and favours too much of hypocrisie, that any people should pray unto the Lord for the speedy accomplishment of his Word in the overthrow of Antichrist, and in the mean time become a Patron to sinful opinions and damnable errors that oppose the truths of Christ, admit it be but in the bare permission of them.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Lords wonder-working Providence, in fitting this people with all kind of Manufactures, and the bringing of them into the order of a Commonwealth.

ON the day of Election for Governor and Magistrates, (which are new chosen every year) the honored *John Winthrope* Esquire was chosen Governor, and the like honored *Thomas Dudley* Esquire Deputy Governor, *John Endicutt* Esquire was chosen Major-General, which is an Officer the Freemen make a yearly choice of, all other Military Officers stand for term of life, unless any be out for misdemeanour; the number of freemen added this year were about 85. the Land affording very good iron, stone, divers persons of good rank and quality in England, were stirred up by the provident hand of the Lord to venture their estates upon an iron work, which they began at *Braintree*, and profited the owners little, but rather wasted their stock, which caused some of them to sell away the remainder, the chief reason being the high price of labour, which ordinarily was as much more as in England, and in many things treble; the way of going on with such a work here, was not suddainly to be discerned, although the Steward had a very able eye, yet experience hath out-stript learning here, and the most quick-sighted in the Theory of things, have been forced to pay prety roundly to Lady Experience for filling their heads with a little of her active after-wit; much hope there is now, that the owners may pick up their crums again, if they be but made partakers of the gain, in putting off England commodities at N.E. price, it will take off one third of the great price they gave for labour, and the price of their iron; it is supposed another third is taken of the abundance of wood had for little, will surely take off the residue, besides land at easie rates, and common land free for their use; it were to be desired that those Gentlemen who have undertaken the work, would consider the place where their works are, namely in N.E. where the Lord Christ hath chosen to plant his Churches in,
to

to hide his people under the covert of his wings, till the tyranny of Antichrist be over-passed, and any that have disbursed pence for the furthering of his work, shall be repayed with thousands: Besides, the Gentlemen that govern this Colony are very desirous to be helpful in what they may, and had rather take any burthens upon themselves and the Inhabitants, that in justice they ought, then that those Gentlemen should be any wayes damnified: The Lord is pleased also to compleat this Commonwealth abundantly beyond all expectation in all sorts of needful occupations, it being for a long time the great fear of many, and those that were endued with grace from above also, that this would be no place of continued habitation, for want of a staple-commodity, but the Lord, whose promises are large to his Sion, hath blest his peoples provision, and satisfied her poor with bread, in a very little space, every thing in the country proved a staple-commodity, wheat, rye, oats, peas, barley, beef, pork, fish, butter, cheese, timber, mast, tar, rope, plank-board frames of houses, clabboard, and pipestaves, iron and lead is like to be also; and those who were formerly forced to fetch most of the bread they eat, and beer they drink a hundred leagues by Sea, are through the blessing of the Lord so encreased, that they have not only fed their Elder Sisters, Virginia, Barbados, and many of the Summer Islands that were prefer'd before her for fruitfulness, but also the Grandmother of us all, even the fertile Isle of Great Britain, beside Portugal hath had many a mouthful of bread and fish from us, in exchange of their Madeara liquor, and also Spain; nor could it be imagined, that this Wilderness should turn a mart for Merchants in so short a space, Holland, France, Spain, and Portugal coming hither for trade, shipping, going on gallantly, till the Seas became so troublesome, and England restrain'd our trade, forbidding it with Barbados, &c. and Portugal stopt and took our ships; many a fair ship had her framing and finishing here, besides lesser vessels, barques, and ketches, many a Master, beside common Seamen, had their first learning in this Colony, Boston, Charles-Town, Salem, and Ipswitch; our Maritan Towns began to encrease roundly, especially Boston, the which of a
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poor country village, in twice seven years is become like unto a small City, and is in election to be Mayor Town suddainly, chiefly increased by trade by Sea, yet of late the Lord hath given a check to our traffique, but the reason may be rendred hereafter; nor hath this Colony alone been actors in this trade of venturing by Sea, but New-haven also, who were many of them well experienced in traffique, and had good estates to mannage it, *Canectico* did not linger behind, but put forth to Sea with the other; all other trades have here fallen into their ranks and places, to their great advantage; especially Coopers and Shomakers, who had either of them a Corporation granted, enriching themselves by their trades very much, Coopers having their plenty of stuff at a cheap rate, and by reason of trade, with forraign parts abundance of work, as for Tanners and Shomakers, it being naturalized into these occupations, to have a higher reach in manning their manufactures, then other men in N.E. are, having not chang'd their nature in this, between them both they have kept men to their stander hitherto, almost doubling the price of their commodities, according to the rate they were sold for in England, and yet the plenty of Leather is beyond what they had, their counting the number of the people, but the transportation of Boots and Shoes into forraign parts hath vented all however: as for Tailors, they vave not come behind the former, their advantage being in the nurture of new-fashions, all one with England; Carpenters, Joyners, Glaziers, Painters, follow their trades only; Gun-smiths, Lock-smiths, Black-smiths, Naylers, Cutlers, have left the husbandmen to follow the Plow and Cart, and they their trades, Weavers, Brewers, Bakers, Coftermongers, Feltmakers, Braziers, Pewterers, and Tinkers, Ropemakers, Masons, Lime, Brick, and Tilemakers, Cardmakers to work, and not to play, Turners, Pumpmakers, and Wheelers, Glovers, Fellmungers, and Furriers, are orderly turn'd to their trades, besides divers forts of Shopkeepers, and some who have a mystery beyond others, as have the Vintners.

Thus hath the Lord been pleased to turn one of the most hideous, boundless, and unknown Wilderneffes in the world

in an instant, as 'twere (in comparifon of other work) to a well-ordered Commonwealth, and all to ferve his Churches, of which the Author intends to fpeak of three more, which came to be gathered in the compafs of these years.

CHAP. VII.

Of the three laft Churches that were gathered in the compafs of these years, namely Haverhil, Malden, and another Church gathered in the Town of Boston.

THIS year 1648. *John Winthrope* Efquire was chofen Governor, and *Thomas Dudley* Efquire Deputy Governor, and *John Endicut* Efquire Major General, all three as they were the former year, the number of freemen added were about 94. about this time there was a Town founded about one or two mile diftant from the place where the goodly river of Merrimeck receives her branches into her own body, hard upon the river of Shawfhin, which is one of her three chief heads; the honored Mr. *Simon Broadstreet* taking up his laft fetling there, hath been a grrat means to further the work, it being a place well fitted for the husbandmans hand, were it not that the remotenefs of the place from Towns of trade, bringeth fome inconveniencies upon the planters, who are inforced to carry their corn far to market; this Town is called Andover, and hath good ftore of land improved for the bignefs of it, they foon gathered into a Church, having the reverend Mr. *Whodbridg* to inftroct them in the wayes of Chrif, till he returned to England, and fince have called to office the reverend Mr. *Deynes*, for whose further encouragement the promifes of the Lord for protecting, providing, increafeing, and continuing, even the very leaft of his Churches going on, according to his precepts, are abundantly manifested in his Word.

THOU Sifter young, Chrif is to thee a wall
 Of flaming fire, to hurt thee none may come
 In ftipp'ry paths, and dark wayes fhall they fall,
 His Angels might fhall chafe theia countlefs fum.

Thy

Thy *Shepherd* with full cups and table spread,
 Before thy foes in Wildernefs thee feeds,
 Increasing thy young lambs in bosom bred,
 Of Churches by his wonder-working deeds :
 To countless number must Christ's Churches reach,
 The day's at hand, both Jew and Gentile shall
 Come crowding in his Churches, Christ to preach,
 And last for aye, none can cause them to fall.

About this time the Town of Malden had his first foundation stones laid by certain persons, who issued out of Charles-Town, and indeed had her whole structure within the bounds of this more elder Town, being severed by the broad ipreading river of Mistick the one from the other, whose troublesome passage caused the people on the North side of the river to plead for Town-priviledges within themselves, which accordingly was granted them; the soyl is very fertile, but they are much straitned in their bounds, yet their neerness to the chief Market Towns, makes it the more comfortable for habitation, the people gathered into a Church some distance of time before they could attain to any Church-Officer to administer the Seals unto them, yet in the mean time at their Sabbath assemblies they had a godly Christian named M. *Sarjant*, who did preach the Word unto them, and afterwards they were supplied at times with some young Students from the Colledg, till the year 1650. one Mr. *Marmaduke Mathews*, coming out of Plimouth Patten, was for some space of time with a people at the Town of Hull, which is a small Port-town peopled by fishermen, and lies at the entrance of the Bays mouth, where this Mr. *Mathews* continued preaching, till he lost the approbation of some able understanding men, among both Magistrates and Ministers, by weak and unsafe expressions in his teaching, yet notwithstanding he was called to the office of a Pastor by the brethren of this Church of Christ at *Malden*, although some neighbour-churches were unfatisfied therewith, for it is the manner of all the Churches of Christ here hitherto, to have the approbation of their Sister-churches, and the civil Government also in the proceed-

ings of this nature, by the which means Communion of Churches is continued, peace preserved; and the truths of Christ sincerely acknowledged, yet the Author will not miss to mind him in the following Meeter.

M*atthews*! thou must build gold and silver on
 That precious stone, Christ cannot trash indure,
 Unstable straw and stubble must be gone,
 When Christ by fire doth purge his building pure.
 In feemly and in modest terms do thou
 Christs precious truths unto thy folk unfold,
 And mix not error with the truth, lest thou
 Soon leave out sense to make the truth to hold:
 Compleating of Christs Churches is at hand,
Matthews stand up, and blow a certain found,
 Warriours are wanting Babel to withstand,
 Christs truths maintain, 'twill bring thee honors crown'd.

The last Church that compleated the number of 30. was gathered at Boston, by reason of the popularity thereof, being too many to meet in one assembly; the North-east part of the Town being separated from the other with a narrow stream cut through a neck of land by industry, whereby that part is become an Island, it was thought meet, that the people inhabiting the same should gather into a Church-body, and build a Meeting-house for their assembly, the which they have already done, but not as yet called any one to office; for since the people of Christ in some other places, both in England and elsewhere, have through the goodness of God obtained like liberty with our selves, the Ministers of Christ have had their labours taken up in other places as well as here, which hath caused this Church as yet to be destitute the beginning of this year was sad to the people of N.E. by reason of the death of their honoured Governour, *John Winthrop* Esquire, whose indefatigable paines in this Wilderneys-work is not to be forgotten, nor indeed can it be; his Funeral was very sadly and solemnly performed, by a very great concourse of the greater part of this Colony, whose

whose mournful looks and watry eyes did plainly demonstrate the tender affection and great esteem he was in with the people.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the death of divers personages, who were in great esteem with the people of New-England, famous for their godliness, and eminent parts, both for Magistracy and Ministry, and of the correcting hand of the Lord upon his N.E. people.

THIS year, after the death of this godly Governour, was chosen to succeed in the place *Io. Endicut* Esq. and *Tho. Dudley* Esq. to be Deputy Governor, to the place of Major-General *Edw. Gibbons*; and seeing that the Lord is pleased to call this people to mourning, the Author will proceed to relate what further occasion this people have had to lament their miscarriages, that have caused the rod to be stretched out toward them, for of a truth they are no Antinomians: The next loss was the death of that famous Preacher of the Lord *M. Hooker*, Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Hartford*, and *M. Philips*, Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Watertown*, and the holy heavenly, sweet-affecting, and soul-ravishing Minister *M. Tho. Sheppard*, Pastor of the Church of Christ at *Cambridg*, whose departure was very heavily taken by all the people of Christ round about him, and now N.E. that had such heaps upon heaps of the riches of Christs tender compassionate mercies, being turn'd off from his dandling knees, began to read their approaching rod in the bend of his brows & frowns of his former favourable countenance toward them; their plenty of all things, which should have cheared their hearts, & quickned their spirits in elevating both soul and body to a thankful frame, through the work of his blessed Spirit; on the contrary, it brought a fulness on many, even to loath the very honey-comb, inso-much that good wholesome truths would not down, yet had the Lord those that were precious unto him, who were not wanting to help one another out of this distemper,
and

and with more warmer affections exhort one another, Come let us go up unto the house of the Lord, and he will teach us his ways: Also the Lord was pleased to awaken us with an Army of caterpillars, that had he not suddainly rebuked them, they had surely destroyed the husbandmans hope, where they fell upon trees, they left them like winter-wasting cold, bare and naked; and although they fell on fields very rarely, yet in some places they made as clear a riddance, as the harvest mans hand, and uncovered the gay green Medow ground, but indeed the Lord did by some plats shew us what he could have done with the whole, and in many places cast them into the high-ways, that the Cart-wheels in their passage were painted green with running over the great swarms of them; in some fields they devoured the leaves of their pease, and left the straw with the full crop so tender was the Lord in his correction; this minded all these Jacobites of the end of their coming over, but chiefly the husbandman, whose over eager pursuit of the fruits of the earth, made some of them many times run out so far in this Wilderness, even out of the sweet sound of the silver Trumpets blown by the laborious Ministers of Christ, forsaking the assembly of the Lords people, to celebrate their Sabbaths in the chimney-corner, horse, kine, sheep, goats, and swine; being their most indeared companions to travel with them to the end of their pilgrimage, or otherwise to gather together some of their neereft neighbours, and make a preachment one unto another, till they had learn'd so much, that they could away with none other teaching: As also the Lord was pleased to command the wind and Seas to give us a jog on the elbow, by sinking the very chief of our shipping in the deep, and splitting them in shivers against the shores; a very goodly Ship called the Seaforce was cast away, and mauy N.E. people put to hard shifts for their lives, and some drowned, as the godly and dearly beloved servant of Christ, Mr. *Tho, Coitmire*, a very able Seaman, and also a good Scholar, one who had spent both his labour and estate for the helping on of this Wilderness-work: as also another ship set forth by the Merchants of New-haven, of which the godly Mr, *Lamberton* went Master, neither ship, persons,

persons, nor goods ever heard of; another ship also built and set forth by the inhabitants of Cambridge, split and cast away near the same place where the Seaforce was lost; as also another Barque mostly set forth by Dorchester men, sunk in the Sea, and never heard of the manner how, with divers others which might be here inserted; this seemed the forer affliction to these N.E. people, because many godly men lost their lives, and abundantly the more remarkable, because the Lord was pleased to forbid any such things to befall his people in their passage hither; herein these people read, as in great capital letters, their suddain forgetfulness of the Lords former received mercy in his wonderful preservation, bringing over so many scores of ships, and thousands of persons, without miscarriage of any, to the wonderment of the whole world that shall hear of it, but more especially were the Merchants and traders themselves sensible of the hand of the Lord out against them, who were in some of the ships, and had their lixes given them for a prey; as also Vintners, and other men of trade, whose gain is increased by Merchants men, being so taken up with the income of a large profit, that they would willingly have had the Commonwealth tolerate divers kinds of sinful opinions to intice men to come and sit down with us, that their purses might be filled with coyn, the civil Government with contention, and the Churches of our Lord Christ with errors; the Lord was pleased after all this, to let in the King of Terror among his new-planted Churches.

FOR this year 1650. *Tho. Dudley* Esquire was chosen Governor, and *John Endicott* Esquire Deputy Governor, Major-General *Edward Gibbons* continued in his office still; the number of freemen added were about 55. This year was the first noted year wherein any store of people died, the ayr and place being very healthy naturally, made this correction of the Lord seem the greater, for the most that died were children, and that of an unwonted disease here, though frequent in other places, the Lord now smiting many families with death in them, although there were not any families wherein more then one died, or very rare if it were otherwise,

wife, yet were these pilgrim people minded of the suddain forgetfulness of those worthies that died not long before, but more especially the little regard had to provide means to train their children up in the knowledg of learning, and improve such means as the Lord hath appointed to leave their posterity an able Minister; as also to stir them up to prepare for the great work of the Lord Jesus in the overthrow of Antichrist, and calling of the Jews, which in all likelihood is very suddainly to be performed; as also in stirring up all the young ones that remain, to consider for what end the Lord hath spared their lives, when he cut off others by death, namely, to prosecute the work that he hath given them to do in the power of his might, with the greater zeal and courage.

THis year the honored and much desired servant of Christ, *John Endicutt* Esquire was chosen to be Governour of the English, inhabiting the Colony of the *Mattachusetts*, and the antient honored and long continued Champion for the truth, as it is in Jesus, *Tho. Dudley* Esquire was chosen Deputy Governour, by the major Vote of these wandering Jacobites, with heart and good will the honored Major-General *Edward Gibbons* continued in place this year, the Government shewed their desire to be assisting to the State of England, in making orders for establishing their Edict for these Western parts of the world among our N.E. people; the Lord in his infinite wisdom saw meet to continue his correcting hand among his N.E. Churches, somewhat more then ordinary in a fore disease, of which many (in comparison of what used to do) and yet not so many as ordinarily use to do in other plantations of this Western world; and whereas the former year young children died most, this year those of grown years died also, and although so small a sickness might not be taken notice of in other places, yet the rareness of it in so healthy a country as is this, cannot but speak loud in the ears of God's people, who desire to hear the rod, and who hath appointed it, and perceive plainly many of them, that the Lord will have us to know, that if his own people tread in the
same

same steps of riot and excess in the plenty he hath given them, with the men of this world he, will lay the same sicknesses and diseases upon them; and further they perceive, according to the ordinary dispensation of his providences toward them, he hath some further great work to do with his N.E. people, that he is beginning again to awaken, rouse up, and quicken them with the rod of his power: For thus they begin to reason with themselves, when the Lord was pleased to expose them, their wives, and little ones to the troubles of a tempestuous Sea in so long a voyage, and the wants of a barren Wilderness in great penury of food, he brought forth by his mighty power, and stretched-out arm, the glorious fabrick of his New-E. Churches; and therefore now again they look for some farther extraordinary great work of his, if he shall once again be pleased to refine them in this furnace of his, and would the Lord Christ would confirm our brethren in England in like faith by our example, yea, and far beyond many degrees, as the Wonder-working providence of Sions Saviour toward them hath more abundantly exceeded, and that as this in three seven years is comprised, though very weakly in this little book, there's in one seven year would require volumes, and as this is wonderful, there is almost miraculous, and wonderful to the whole world, as if the Lord Christ did intend to make his power known more abundantly, then ever the sons of men saw Kings and Kingdoms strengthened, with affinity and consanguinity, the valiant of the world, men skil'd in feats of war, as *Goliath* from a child, fierce and pampered horses, whose necks are covered with strong neighing, and cunning Engenires, men skilful to destroy with all the terrible engins of war, together with swarms of souldiers flocking together to swallow up the poor remnant of Gods people, all these hath the Lord caused to fall before your eyes, and our ears have heard the noyse of this great fall; and beloved countrymen, and our dear brethren in Christ, step into the closet of your own hearts with us, and see if there will not be some things in this following verse that may suit your condition as well as ours, that having sown in tears, we may reap with joy the glorious harvest of our Lord Christ, which is

hard at hand, for assuredly the Lord is tyed neither to us, nor you, but may, if it please him, cast off both, and raise up new instruments for his following work, but if he be pleased to give us melting hearts for our former miscarriages, and renew us with a more zealous courage and earnest contending for the faith, it is very like he hath more glorious works by far for us yet to do.

CHAP. IX.

Of the wonder-working providences of Christ, wrought for his people among our English Nation, both in our Native country, and also in N. E. which should stir us up to mourn for all our miscarriages much the more.

FROM silent night true Register of moans,
 From saddest foul consum'd in deepest sin,
 [A] From heart quite rent with sighs and heavy groans,
 My wailing muse her woful work begins,
 And to the world brings tunes of sad lament,
 Sounding nought els but sorrows sad relent.

Sorry to see my sorrows cause augmented,
 And yet less sorrowful were my sorrows more,
 [A] Grief that with grief, is not with grief prevented,
 Yet grief it is must ease my grieved fore ;
 So grief and sorrow, care but how to grieve,
 For grief and sorrow must my cares relieve.

The wound fresh bleeding must be stanch'd with tears,
 Tears cannot come unless some grief proceed,
 [A] Grief comes but slack, which doth increase my fears,
 Fear, left for want of help I still shall bleed ;
 Do what I can to lengthen my lifes breath,
 If Christ be wanting, I shall bleed to death.

Thou deepest searcher of each secret thought,
 Infuse in me thy all-affecting grace,

[A] So shall my work to good effect be brought,
 While I peruse my ugly sins a space,
 Whose staining filth so spotted hath my soul,
 That nought can wash, but tears of inward dole.

A The consideration of the wonderful providence of Christ in planting his N. E. Churches, and with the right hand of his power preserving, protecting, favouring, and feeding them upon his tender knees: Together with the ill requital of his all-infinite and undeserved mercies bestowed upon us, hath caused many a soul to lament for the dishonor done to his Name, and fear of his casting of this little handful of his, and the insulting of the enemy, whose sorrow is set forth in these four first staves of verses.

How soon my soul hast thou the Lord forgot,
 [B] Who thee and thine through troublous Seas hath lead,
 On earth thy parts should praise him, fuddain rot,
 Why dost neglect his glorious Kingdom spread.
 Thy eyes have seen the Mountains mov'd with's hand,
 And sunk in Seas to make his Sion stand.

No wonder then thy works with Eastern wind
 [B] On Seas are broke, and thy best Seamen slain,
 Sith, thou thy gain, and not Christs work dost mind,
 Lord stay thy hand, I see my works are vain.
 Our ships they shall thy Gospel forth convey,
 And not bring home strange errors here to stay.

Instead of home-oppression, they shall now
 Thy Saints abroad relieve, by Sea them fend;
 No riot shall our Merchantmen allow,
 Time in exchange walks, not in Taverns spend:
 Godly grief and good purpose comes from thee,
 Lord Christ command, and then to work go we.

B The Rod of God toward us in our Maritime affairs manifested, not only to our own shipping, but strangers; as the Mary Rose blown up in Charles River, and sunk in a moment, with about thirteen men slain therein: As also one Capt. Chadwicks Pinnace, and about four men slain therein, beside what hath been formerly said touching our own shipping.

Oh thou my foul how weak's thy faith become,
 With scatter'd seed of man and beast, thou hast
 Seen thy great God increase thy little sum,
C Towns close compact in desert land hath plac't :
 In Wilderネス thy table richly spread,
 Thy poor therein hath satisfi'd with bread.

While firtil lands with hunger have been pined,
C Thy harvest hath with heaps on heaps come in ;
 Oh mourn, that thou no more thy God should'ft mind,
 His gentle rod to teach thee doth begin ;
 Then wonder not that swarms of Locust fly,
 And that earths fruits for want of moysture die.

A countless crew of Caterpillers crawl,
 To rob the earth of her green mantle quite ;
 Wolves only wont on lesser beasts to fall,
C On great ones prey by day, and eke by night :
 Thy houses are consum'd with much good store,
 By fearful fires, which blustering winds blow o're.

Lord stay thy hand, and stop my earthly mind,
 Thy Word, not world, shall be our sole delight,
C Not Medow ground, but Christs rich pearl wee'l find,
 Thy Saints imbrace, and not large lands down plight.
 Murmure no more will we at yearly pay,
 To help uphold our Government each way ;

Not strive who least, but who the most shall give,
 Rejoyce will we, our hearts enlarged are,
C Those wait on th' Altar, shall on Altar live,
 Nor shall our riches their good doctrine mar ;
 Our pride of parts in thought of clear discerning,
 No longer shall disgrace their godly learning.

Our meaner fort that metamorphos'd are,
 With womens hair, in gold and garments gay,

C Whose wages large our Commonwealths work mar,
 Their pride they shall with moderation lay :
 Cast off their cloaths, that men may know their rank,
 And women that with outward deckings prank,

C Of the Lords hand against our Land affairs, as is heretofore expressed; and also in the suddain taking away many mens estates by fire, and chiefly by a most terrible fire which happened in Charles-Town, in the depth of Winter, 1650. by a violent wind blown from one house to another, to the consuming of the fairest houses in the Town: Vnder the pretence of being unequally rated, many men murmure exceedingly, and withdraw their shoulders from the support of Government, to the great discouragement of those that govern, 1651. Pride and excess in apparrel is frequent in these daies, when the Lord calls his people to humiliation and humble acknowledgment of his great deliverances; and that which is far worse, spiritual pride, to shew our selves to be somebody, often step out of our ranks, and delight in new fangled doctrines.

The worlds imbrace our longing lust for gain,
 D No longer shall us into corners draw,
 Nor our large herds us from Gods house detain
 From fellowship of Saints, who learn thy Law :
 Thy righteous Judgments Lord do make me tremble,
 Nor word, nor rod, but deep in this dissembles.

Two Masters, Lord, we will professed serve ;
 How can we Christ united be to thee,
 D When from thy Law learn'd we so greatly fwarve,
 With watry tears unclued we will be.
 From creature-comforts, Christ thou art our stay,
 Work will and deed in us we humbly pray.

D An over-eager desire after the world hath so seized on the spirits of many, that the chief end of our coming hither is forgotten; and notwithstanding all the powerful means used, we stand at a stay, as if the Lord had no farther work for his people to do, but every bird to feather his own nest.

Oh thou, my foul, and every part in me
 Lament, the Lord his worthies from the earth
 Takes to himself, and makes our earth to be
 E A mourning place left destitute of mirth ;

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Are these the daies wherein that Beast shall fall,
Lord leave us means, though thou be all in all.

What courage was in *Winthrope*, it was thine ;
 Shepherds sweet Sermons from thy blessing came,
[*E*] Our heavenly *Hooker* thy grace did refine,
 And godly *Burr* receiv'd from thee his frame :
Philips didst thou indue with Scripture light,
And *Huet* had his arguings strong and right.

Grave *Higginson* his heavenly truths from thee,
[*E*] *Maveruck* was made an able help to thine ;
What *Herver* had thou gavest, for's people free ;
 Follow *Green* full of grace, to work thou didst assign :
Godly *Glover* his rich gifts thou gavest,
Thus thou by means thy flocks from smoiling favest.

But Lord, why dost by death withdraw thy hand
 From us, these men and means are sever'd quite ;
Stretch forth thy might, Lord Christ do thou command,
 Their doubled spirit on those left to light :
Forth of their graves call ten times ten again,
That thy dear flocks no damage may sustain.

Can I forget these means that thou hast used,
 To quicken up my drowie drooping soul ;
Lord I forget, and have the same abused,
 Which makes me now with grief their deaths condole,
And kifs thy rod, laid on with bowels tender,
By death of mine, makes me their death remember.

Lord, stay thy hand, thy *Jacobs* number's small,
 Powre out thy wrath on Antichrists proud Thrones ;
Here thy poor flocks that on thee daily call,
 Bottle their tears, and pity their sad groans.
Where shall we go Lord Christ ? we turn to thee,
Heal our back-slidings, forward pres shall we.

Not we, but all thy Saints the world throughout

Shall on thee wait, thy wonders to behold ;

Thou King of Saints, the Lord in battel stout

Increase thy armies many thousand fold.

Oh Nations all, his anger seek to stay,

That doth create him armies every day.

E The Lords taking away by death many of his most eminent servants from us, shewes, that either the Lord will raise up another people to himself to do his work, or raise us up by his Rod to a more eager pursuit of his work, even the planting of his Churches the world throughout. The Lord converts and calls forth of their graves men to fight his battels against the enemies of his truth.

CHAP. X.

Of the endeavours of this people of Christ, to enlarge his Kingdom the world throughout, and first of their preaching Christ to the Indians, among whom they live.

THESE brood of Travellers having thus through the good hand of their God upon them, thus settled these Churches, according to the institution of Christ, and not by the will of man; they now endeavour to be assisting to others: The reverend Mr. *Hugh Peters*, and his fellow-helper in Christ Mr. *Wells* steered their course for England, so soon as they heard of the chaining up of those biting beasts, who went under the name of spiritual Lords; what assistance the Gospel of Christ found there by their preaching, is since clearly manifested; for the Lord Christ having removed that usurping power of Lordly Prelates, hath now enlarged his Kingdom there, and that not only by the means of these men, but by divers others, both godly and eminent servants of his, who never saw New-England; and by divers other godly Ministers of Christ, who have since gone from hence, both young Students and others, to the number of twenty, or thereabout, in the whole; besides some who were eminent in the civil Government here, both gracious and godly servants of Christ, and some who have been Magistrates here, to the number of five or six, the Lord Christ grant they may all endeavour the advancement of his truths, both in Churches and civil Government: But before the Author cease to speak of England, he is bold to say, that the Lord Christ will overturn, overturn, overturn, till he hath caused such a Government to be set up, as shall become nursing fathers to his new-planted Churches.

The Indian people in these parts at the English first coming, were very barbarous and uncivilized, going for the most part naked, although the country be extreme cold
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cold in the winter-season : they are onely clothed with a Deers skin, and a little bit of cloth to cover their privy part. The Women for the most part are very modest, although they go as naked as the Men : they are generally very laborious at their planting time, and the Men extraordinary idle, making their squawes to carry their Children and the luggage beside ; so that many times they travell eight or ten mile with a burden on their backs, more fitter for a horse to carry then a woman. The men follow no kind of labour but hunting, fishing and fowling, in all which they make use of their Bowe and Arrowes to shoot the wilde creatures of the Trees, as Squirrells, gray and black Rockoones : as for Deer, they ordinarily catch them in traps, with a pole bent down, and a Cord at the end, which flyes up and stayes their hasty course. *Bever, Otter, and Moose* they catch with Traps also : they are very good marks-men, with their Bowe and Arrows. Their Boyes will ordinarily shoot fish with their Arrowes as they swim in the shallow Rivers, they draw the Arrow halfe way, putting the point of it into the water, they let flye and strike the fish through ; the like they do to Birds lesser and great : onely the *Geese* and *Turkies* being strong of wing, sometimes flee away with their Arrowes sticking in them ; this is all the trade they use, which makes them destitute of many necessaries, both in meat, drink, apparell and houses.

As for any religious observation, they were the most destitute of any people yet heard of, the Divel having them in very great subjection, not using craft to delude them, as he ordinarily doth in most parts of the World : but kept them in a continuall slavish fear of him : onely the *Powawes*, who are more conversant with him, then any other, sometimes recover their sicke folk with charmes, which they use, by the help of the Divell ; and this makes them to adore such ; one of them was seen as is reported to cure a Squaw that was dangerously sick, by taking a snakes skin and winding it about her arm the which soon became a living snake crawling round about her armes and body ; another caused the sick patient, for healing, to pass bare footed through many burning coals ; those that cannot cure them they call Squantams powwons : but if the patient live, he is had in great admiration, and then they cry, Much winnit Abbamocho, that is, very good

Divell: for Squantam is a bad Divel, and Abbamocho is their good Divell. It hath been a thing very frequent before the English came, for the Divell to appear unto them in a bodily shape, sometimes very ugly and terrible, and sometimes like a white boy, and chiefly in the most hideous woods and swamps: they report that sometimes he hath come into their wigwams, and carryed away divers of them alive: and since we came hither, they tell us of a very terrible beast for shape and bigness, that came into a wigwam toward the North-east parts, remote from any English plantations, and took away six men at a time, who were never seen afterward. The English at their first coming did assay and endeavour to bring them to the knowledge of God: and in particular the reverend, grave, and godly Mr. *John Wilson*, who visited their sick, and instructed others as they were capable to understand him. But yet very little was done that way, till in procefs of time they by continuall coming to the English, became better able to understand them; and now of late yeers the reverend Mr. *Eliot* hath been more then ordinary laborious to study their language, instructing them in their own Wigwams, and catechising their Children. As also the reverend Mr. *Mayhew* one who was tutored up in *N. Eng.* and called to office by the Church of Christ, gathered at a small Island called *Martins Vineyard*: this man hath taken good pains with them: but the particulars of our godly Ministers labours, together with the good hand of our God upon their indeavours, being already published, no further need be spoken.

As to Mr. William Leveriry Pastor of Sandwich Church, is very serious therein, and with good success.

C H A P. XI.

Of the gracious goodness of the Lord Christ, in planting his Gospel in the purity of it, in Virginia : and of the first Church gathered there according to the rule of the Gospel.

ABOUT the yeer [1642] the Lord was pleased to put it into the heart of some godly people in *Virginia*, to send to *N.E.* for some of the Ministers of Christ, to be helpfull unto them in instructing them in the truth, as it is in *Jesus*. The godly Mr. *Philip Bennit* coming hither, made our reverend Elders acquainted with their desires, who were very studious to take all opportunities for enlarging the kingdome of Christ: and upon serious consideration, the reverend Mr. *Knowls* of *Watertowne*, and Mr. *Tompson* of *Braintree* were sent unto them, who arriving there in safety, preached openly unto the people for some good space of time, and also from house to house exhorted the people dayly, that with full purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord; the harvest they had was plentiful for the little space of time they were there, till being opposed by the Governour and some other malignant spirits, they were forced to returne to *N.E.* again. It were much to be desired, that all people would take notice of the hand of God against this people, after the rejection of these Ministers of Christ: and indeed it was none other but the thrusting Christ from them; and now attend to the following story, all you Cavaliers and malignant party the world throughout, take notice of the wonderworking providence of Christ toward his Churches, and punishing hand of his toward the contemners of his Gospel. Behold ye dispisers, and wonder. Oh poor *Virginia*, dost thou send away the Ministers of Christ with threatenng speeches? No sooner is this done, but the barbarous, inhumane, insolent, and bloody *Indians* are let loose upon them, who contrive the cutting them off by whole Families, closely carying their wicked counsells till they had effected their desires, their bloody designe taking place for the space of 200 miles

up the River : the manner of the English Plantations there being very scattering, quite contrary to *N.E.* people, who for the most part desire society. The manner of the *Indians* proceeding was thus, they divided themselves into severall companies, and beset the English houses a little before break of day, waiting for the first person that should open the doore and come forth, whom they cruelly murdered, beating out their brains, and then forthwith entred the house and slew all they found within, sometimes firing the houses, and leaving the living children miserably to be consumed with their dead Parents in the fearfull flames ; some people fleeing from this barbarous massacre, as they passed by a fired house, heard a pitifull out-cry of a poor Child, crying, I burn, I burn : although they could willingly have made haste away, yet the miserable out-cry of this poor babe, caused them to hast to the house, and rescue it forth the flames, that was even almost ready to scorch it : this cruell and bloody work of theirs put period to the lives of five or six hundred of these people, who had not long before a plentiful proffer of the mercies of Christ in the glad tidings of peace published by the mouth of his Ministers, who came unto them for that end : but chusing rather the fellowship of their drunken companions, and a Preist of their own profession, who could hardly continue so long sober as till he could read them the reliques of mans invention in a common prayer book ; but assuredly had not the Lord pittied the little number of his people among this crooked generation, they had been consumed at once for this is further remarkable in this massacre, when it came toward the place where Christ had placed his little flock, it was discovered & prevented from further proceeding, and the Lord by this means did so allay their spirits of malignity toward his people, they gathered in a Church in presence of the very governour himself, and called to office one Mr. *Harrison*, who could not long continue among them, by reason of their fresh renewed malignity, who had formerly an evill eye toward them, and could no better refraine from oppressing them, then *Pharoah* after he had rest from the plagues under which he was. After the departure of Mr. *Harrison*, one Mr. *Duren* became an help unto them ; but he and his people also were forced to remove many hundred miles up into the country, where they

now

now remain; but assuredly the Lord hath more scourges in store, for such as force the people to such sufferings: and therefore let this Church of Christ continue in the way of his truth according to the rules of his Gospel, and without doubt the Lord will preserve and continue them, let the adversaries of his Truth be never so potent. As also about this time, the Lord was pleased to gather a people together in the Isle of *Bermoodas*, whose hearts being guided by the rule of the word, they gathered into a Church of Christ according to the rules of the Gospel, being provided with able persons, indued with gifts from the Lord to administer unto them the holy things of God; and after they began to be opposed, their reverend elder Mr. *Goulding* came into these parts, and from hence he went to *England*: but this little flock of Christ not long after being banished from thence, went to one of the Southern Islands, where they endured much hardship; and which the Churches of Christ in these parts understanding, about six or eight of them contributing toward their want, gathered about 800*l.* to supply their necessity: the which they shipped in a small vessel hired for that end, and sent by the hands of two brethren both corne and other necessaries: they arriving in safety by the blessing of God upon their labours, were well welcomed by their brethren, who abundantly blessed the Lord for them, and with godly and gracious expression returned a thankfull acknowledgement of the present good hand of the Lord Christ, in providing for them: so that as this book began with the wonderworking providence of *Sions* Saviour, in providing so wonderfull graciously for his Churches the World throughout; so it here endeth with the same; and it were to be desired, that the Churches of Christ in *Europe* would gather up the wonderfull providences of the Lord toward them also, and more especially those in our native Country: for assuredly it would make much for the magnifying of his glorious works in this day of his power: and although the malignant and antichristian party may say, they can shew the like wonders (as *Jannes* and *Jambres* that withstood *Moses*) yet were the worke of Christ for his poor Churches, within these few yeers, gathered together by some able instrument whom the Lord might be pleased to stir up for that end, and laid open the view of all, they would be forced

Mr. Nathaniel White,
Mr. Patrick, Copeland, Mr. William Goulding.

forced to confefs, this is the very finger of God, and no doubt but they would be a great ftrengthening to the faith of thofe, who are appointed of the Lord for the overthrow of Antichrift (the Lord helping) for affuredly, the time of his having mercy upon *Sion* is come.

CHAP. XII.

Of the time of the fall of Antichrift, and the increafe of the Gentile Churches, even to the provoking of the twelve Tribes to fubmit to the kingdom of Chrift.

IT hath been the longing expectation of many, to fee that notable and wonderfull worke of the Lord Chrift, in cafting down that man of fin who hath held the whole world (of thofe that profefs any Chrift) under his Lordly power, while the true profeffors of Chrift have hardly had any appearance to the eye of the world; firft, take notice the Lord hath an affured fet time for the accomplifhment of this work, which is fet down in his word, although more darkly to be underftood; wherefore the reverend Minifters of Chrift, for thefe many yeers have ftudied and laboured for the finding it out, and that holy man of God Mr. *John Cotton*, among many other, hath diligently fearched for the Lords mind herein, and hath declared fome fudden blow to be given to this blood-thirfty monfter: but the Lord Chrift hath unfeparably joynd the time, meanes, and manner of this work together, and therefore all men that expect the day, muft attend the meanes: for fuch hath been and is the abfurdity of many, that they make femblance of a very zealous affection to fee the glorious work of our Lord Chrift herein, and yet themfelves uphold, or at leaft fide with thofe that uphold fome part of Antichrifts kingdome: and therefore the lordly Prelacy may pray for his fall till their lungs are fpent, and their throats grow dry. But while they have a feeming fhew (and hardly that) to oppofe his doctines, they themfelves in the mean time, make ufe of his power to advance themfelves to honour: as alfo in thefe dayes there are divers desperate, blaphemous, and erronious perfons

fons, whose consciences and their own self-will are unseparable companions; these are very hot in their own apprehensions to prosecute the work; but in the mean time, they not only batter down the truths of Christ, and his own Ordinances and Institutions, but also fet up that part of Antichrists kingdom, which hath formerly had a great blow already, even his deceiveable and damnable doctrines: for as one badg of the beast is to be full of blasphemies, so are they, and these take unto themselves seven spirits worse then the former, making the latter end worse then the beginning, as this story may testifie: and some stories in our native country much more. But to come to the time of Antichrists fall; and all that expect it may depend upon the certainty of it: yea it may be boldly said that the time is come, and all may see the dawning of the day: you that long so much for it, come forth and fight: who can expect a victory without a battel? the lordly Prelates that boasted so much of these great atcheivements in this work, are fled into holes and corners: *Familists, Seekers, Antinomians* and *Anabaptists*, they are so ill armed, that they think it best sleeping in a whole skin, fearing that if the day of battell once go on, they shall fall among Antichrists Armies: and therefore cry out like cowards, If you will let me alone, and I will let you alone; but assuredly the Lord Christ hath said, *He that is not with us, is against us*: there is no room in his Army for toleratorists. But some will say, We will never believe the day is come, till our eyes behold *Babylon* begirt with Souldiers. I pray be not too hasty; hath not the Lord said, *Come out of her my people?* &c, surely there is a little space left for this, and now is the time, seeing the Lord hath set up his stander of resort: now, *Come forth of her, and be not partakers of her sins*: now is the time, when the Lord hath assembled his Saints together; now the Lord will come and not tarry. As it was necessary that there should be a *Moses* and *Aaron*, before the Lord would deliver his people and destroy *Pharaoh* lest they should be wildred indeed in the Wildernez; so now it was needfull, that the Churches of Christ should first obtain their purity, and the civill government its power to defend them, before Antichrist come to his finall ruine: and because you shall be sure the day is come indeed, behold the Lord Christ marshal-

shalling of his invincible Army to the battell : some suppose this onely to be mysticall, and not literall at all : assuredly the spirituall fight is chiefly to be attended, and the other not neglected, having a neer dependancy one upon the other, especially at this time ; the Ministers of Christ who have cast off all lording power over one another, are created field-Officers, whose Office is * extravagant in this Army, chiefly to encourage the fighting Souldiers, and to lead them on upon the enemy in the most advantageous places, and bring on fresh supplies in all places of danger, to put the sword of the spirit in their Souldiers hands : but Christ (who is their general) must onely enable them to use it aright: to give every Souldier in charge that they watch over one another, to see that none meddle with the execrable things of Antichrist, and this to be performed in every Regiment throughout the Army: and not one to exercise dominion over the other by way of superiority: for Christ hath appointed a parity in all his Regiments, &c. let them beware that none go apart with rebellious *Korah*. And further, behold, Kings, Rulers, or Generals of Earths Armies, doth Christ make use of in this day of battell, the which he hath brought into the field already also ; who are appointed to defend, uphold, and maintain the whole body of his Armies against the insolent, beastly, and bloody cruelty of their insatiable enemies, and to keep order that none do his fellow-Souldier any wrong, nor that any should raise a mutiny in the hosts. Notwithstanding all this, if any shall say, they will not believe the day is come till they see them ingage battell with Antichrist ; Verily, if the Lord be pleased to open your eyes, you may see the beginning of the fight, and what success the Armies of our Lord Christ have hitherto had : the Forlorne hopes of Antichrists Army, were the proud Prelates of *England* : the Forlorne of Christs Armies, were these *N. E.* people, who are the subject of this History, which encountring each other for some space of time, ours being overpowered with multitude, were forced to retreat to a place of greater safety, where they waited for a fresh opportunity to ingage with the main battell of Antichrist, so soon as the Lord shall be pleased to give a word of Command. Immediately upon this success, the Lord Christ was pleased to command the right Wing of his Army, to advance against the left Wing of Antichrist

* *Tea every Officer hath his own proper Regiment.*

christ : where in his former forlorn hopes of proud Prelates lay : these by our right Wing had their first pay (for that they had done to our forlorne before) being quite overthrown and cut in peices by the valiant of the Lord in our right Wing, who still remain fighting. Thus far of the battell of Antichrist, and the various success: what the issue will be, is assuredly known in the generall already. *Babylon* is fallen, the God of truth hath said it ; then who would not be a Souldier on Christs side, where is such a certainty of victory? nay I can tell you a farther word of encouragement, every true-hearted Souldier that falls by the sword in this fight, shall not lye dead long, but stand upon his feet again, and be made partaker of the triumph of this Victory: and none can be overcome, but by turning his back in fight. And for a word of terrour to the enemy, let them know, Christ will never give over the raising of fresh Forces, till they are overthrown root and branch. And now you antient people of *Israel* look out of your Prison grates, let these Armies of the Lord Christ Jesus provoke you to acknowledge he is certainly come, I and speedily he doth come to put life into your dry bones : here is a people not onely praying but fighting for you, that the great block may be removed out of the way, (which hath hindered hitherto) that they with you may enjoy that glorious resurrection-day, the glorious nuptials of the Lamb: when not only the Bridegroom shall appear to his Churches both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, (which are his spouse) in a more brighter aray then ever heretofore, but also his Bride shall be clothed by him in the richest garments that ever the Sons of men put on, even the glorious graces of Christ Jesus, in such a glorious splendor to the eyes of man, that they shall see and glorifie the Father of both Bridegroom and Bride.

1. **O** *H King of Saints, how great's thy work, say we,
Done and to do, poor Captives to redeem!
Mountaines of mercy makes this work to be
Glorious that grace by which thy works are seen.
Oh Jesu, thou a Saviour unto thine,
Not works but grace makes us this mercy find.*
2. *Of sinners cheife, no better men they be,
Thou by thy work hast made thy work to do :
Thy Captaines strength weak dust appears in thee,
While thou art brought such wondrous works unto.*

- Then Christ doth all, I all is done for his
Redeemed ones, his onely work it is.*
3. *Doth Christ build Churches? who can them deface?
He purchast them, none can his right deny:
Not all the world, ten thousand worlds, his grace
Caus'd him once them at greater price to buy.
Nor marvell then if Kings and Kingdomes he
Destroy'd, when they do cause his folke to flee.*
4. *Christ is come down possession for to take
Of his deer purchase; who can hinder him?
Not all the Armies earthly men can make:
Millions of spirits, although Divels grim:
Can Pope or Turke with all their mortall power,
Stay Christ from his inheritance one hour?*
5. *All Nations band your selves together now,
You shall fall down as dust from bellows blown:
How easie can our King your power bow?
Though higher you in mens accompt were grown.
As drop in bucket shall those waters be,
Whereon that Whore doth sit in high degree.*
6. *Christ's wrath is kindled, who can stand before
His anger, that so long hath been provoked?
In moment perish shall all him before,
Who touch'd Mount Sinai, and it soundly smoaked.
New-England Churches you are Christ's you say,
So sure are all that walk in Christ's way.*
7. *No such need fear fury of men or Divels,
Why Christ among you takes his dayly walk:
He made you gold, you keeps from rusting evils,
And hid you here from strife of tongues proud talke.
Amongst his he for their defence doth bide,
They need no more that have Christ on their side.*
8. *Man be not proud of this thy exaltation:
For thou wast dung and dogs filth when Christ wrought
In thee his work, and set thee in this station
To stand from him thy strength is dayly brought,
Yet in him thou shalt go triumphant on:
Not thou but Christ triumphs his foes upon.*
9. *You people whom he by the hand did lead
From Egypt land through Seas with watry wall:*

- Apply your selves his Scriptures for to read :*
In reading do for eyes enlightned call,
And you shall see Christ once being come is now
Again at hand your stubborn hearts to bow.
10. *Though scattered you, Earths Kingdoms are throughout,*
In bondage brought, cheise by those make some shew
Of Jewish rights, they Christ with you cast out :
Christ will their Cords for you in sunder hew.
Through unbelieve you were to bondage brought :
Believe that Christ for you great work hath wrought.
11. *He will your heart not member circuncise :*
Oh search and see, this is your Jesus sure,
Refuse him not, would God you were so wise :
None but this King can ought your hope procure.
Once doting on an Earthly Kingdom you
Mist of your Christ ; be sure be wiser now.
12. *The day's at hand he will you wiser make*
To know Earths Kingdoms are too scant and base
For such a price, as Christ paid for your sake :
Kings you shall be, but in a higher place ;
Yet for your freedom Nations great shall fall,
That without fear of soes, him serve you shall.
13. *You are the men that Christ will cause subdue*
Those Turkish Troops, that joyned Jews have been :
His Gentile Churches cast down Babels crue :
Then you that brood of Mahumetts shall win,
Destroy his seed 'mongst Perfians, Turkes and Moores,
And for poor Christians ope the Prison doors.
14. *Your Nation prov'd too scant for his possession,*
Whose pretious blood was made a price for sin :
And Nations all who were in like transgression ;
Some of the whole Christ to his Crown will win,
And now makes way for this his work indeed,
That through the world his Kingdom may proceed.
15. *Now Nations all I pray you look about,*
Christ comes you neer, his power I pray embrace :
In's word him seek ; he's found without all doubt :
He doth beseech with teares, Oh seek his face :
Yet time there is, the Battel's but begun ;
Christ call thy folke that they to thee may run.

16. *Place them in thy strong Armies newly gather'd,
Thy Churches Lord increase and fill withall :
Those blessed ones are given thee by thy Father,
The wickeds Rod off from their backs recall.
Breake off their yokes, that they with freedom may
Tell of thy workes, and praise thee every day.*
17. *Lord Christ go on with thy great wonders working,
Down headlong cast all Antichristian power :
Vnmaske those men that lye in corners lurking,
Whose damned doctrines dayly seates advance.
For why thy Folke for this are dayly longing,
That Nations may come in thy Churches thronging.*
18. *What greater joy can come thy Saints among,
Then to behold their Christ exalted high ?
Thy Spirits joy with ravishment stirs strong
Thy Folke, while they thy Kingdomes glory eye.
Angels rejoyce because their waiting is
In Saints assembly, where thy name they blifs.*
19. *Thy workes are not in Israels Land confined,
From East to West thy wondrous works are known
To Nations all thou hast thy grace assigned,
Thy spirits breathings through the World are blown.
All Languages and tongues do tell thy praise,
Dead hear thy voyce, them thou dost living raise.*
20. *Oh blessed dayes of Son of Man now seen,
You that have long'd so sore them to behold,
March forth in's might, and stoutly stand between
The mighties sword, and Christs dear stocke infold.
Vndaunted close and clash with them ; for why ?
'Gainst Christ they are, and he with thee stands by.*
21. *No Captive thou, nor Death can on thee seize,
Fight, stand, and live in Christ thou dayly dost :
He long ago did lead as Captives these,
And ever lives to save thee where thou goest.
His Father still, and Spirit shall with thee
Abide, and crowne thy Head with lasting glee.*

For thy words sake, and according to thine own heart, hast thou done all these great things, to make thy servant know them,
2 Sam. 7. 21.

FINIS.



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I N D E X.





I N D E X.

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¹ Johnson's several statements as to the number of churches present apparent difficulties. On p. 23, he gives the number as 43; and, on p. 200, as 45. On p. 212, he speaks of the second Boston church, formed June 5, 1650, as "completing the number of 30"; and, in this number, he includes the Hampton and Dover churches.

Mr. Savage (in Winthrop, i. 94) notices these figures, and takes Holmes and other writers to task "for deferring "too easily to the authority of Johnson, a writer entitled to "little regard." He brings up the matter again in Winthrop ii. 331, and (in edition of 1853) erroneously makes Johnson assert that there were 53 churches in the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies in 1650.

My conclusions are, that Johnson's statements, though somewhat obscure, are substantially true, and consistent with each other. In his first estimate, 43, he embraced

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the churches of Plymouth and Massachusetts (including New Hampshire and Maine). This estimate was made before the second Boston church was formed. Placing the churches of Hampton and Dover with New Hampshire, the list stands thus: Plymouth, 10; Massachusetts Bay, 27; New Hampshire, 4; Maine, 2; total, 43. The second estimate, 45, includes the same, with the second Boston church, and the church of Hull, formed in 1644, which was omitted in the first enumeration. With regard to the third estimate, 30, Mr. Savage himself makes the number in Massachusetts Bay proper 29; and he agrees with Johnson that the number in Plymouth was 10. There is no question as to the number in New Hampshire and Maine. The only wonder is, that Johnson, at that early period, could have made such accurate estimates, although he might have stated the matter more clearly.

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¹ No freemen were admitted in 1630; but 109 per-
 fons applied for admiffion, Oct. 19, 1630. In May, 1631,
 and later in the year, 126 perfons were admitted. There
 is a marked difcrepancy between the number of freemen
 admitted from year to year, as ftated by Johnfon, and the
 official lifts in the Maffachufetts Colonial Records. John-
 fon, in many inftances not profefing to give the exact

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